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WILLIAM E. HUGHES JR

SKIN COLOR IDENTIFICATION AND PREFERENCE AMONG CHILDREN IN SWEDEN AND AMERICA
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

LÄRARHÖGSKOLAN I UPPSALA · PEDAGOGISKA INSTITUTIONEN

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, UPPSALA · DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

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PREFACE

In spite of the claim of many social scientists that detachment and objectivity are possible and that they can disassociate their roles as scientists and as private citizens, much of the work done by North Americans in the area of race has, until the past three to five years, been strongly favored with a great deal of optimism and complacency about the basic "goodness" of American society, and with a slightly left-of-center reformist gradualist approach of view of societies. Definitions of race problems have been those of integration and assimilation of minorities into the mainstream of consensus based societies.

At the verbal level there have been some statements of awareness of the problem of objectivity. Since the publication of An American Dilemma (Myrdal, 1944), it has become fashionable to state one's value position explicitly, but the reader is sometimes left with the impression that this is a kind of intellectual purification ritual, by which the author purges his thinking of ideological contamination rather than an admission that values and science are inextricably intertwined.

In recent years, with the rather sudden swing of vocal segments of non-Caucasian minority group "leadership" away from integration and consensus and toward a more militant ideology of group identity and conflict, there has been a remarkable shift in the intellectual climate of social scientists specializing in this field (mainly in America). Optimism becomes stigmatized as naive, conventional liberal ideology is increasingly questioned, and conflict theory is becoming fashionable even though conflict is generally still regarded as undesirable and the accent is still largely put on conflict resolution.

Beyond these underlying background factors, individual motives rather complicate the picture. Most specialists in "race" and intergroup relations have been very engagé, either as angry members of subjugated groups or as "guilt-ridden" members of a privileged group trying to atone for the sins of their forebearers and contemporaries. Engagé as they were, or are, they mostly adhere(d) to an ideology of positivism which made/makes them simulate detachment and objectivity, often to the point of apparently convincing themselves that they have been success-

ful in their search for intellectual Nirvana. The most self deceptive fiction toward that end is the notion that one can disassociate one's role as scientist from that of private citizen or separate objective appraisals from policy recommendations. Theoretically we can, of course, but practically we often cannot, and what good does it do to pretend that we have?

A troublesome question is the appraisal of the impact of this book on Caucasians in Sweden and the United States. I am fully aware that any discussion of issues indirectly and/or directly related to "race" in predominately Caucasian societies is a sensitive subject, one which very few escape the opportunity for prejudgment that are emotional rather than rational in origin. To those who have emotionally founded prejudgments, this book will have little value.

I also have much concern about the impact of this book on non-Caucasians residing in both Sweden and the United States, who may consider it an intrusion on their privacy on the grounds that much had better be left unsaid. To follow this excessive precaution would mean to abandon a useful implement for social research because its conclusions touch upon the sensibilities of those investigated. This same consideration would apply to any living culture. I hope that what is learned from this book can be of use to individuals and groups, "majority and minority" alike, in both societies in question. The latter claim is founded upon the proposition that this book will do more good than harm on the belief that the truth about what happens to both those who are subject to inequities, and those who are subject to gratuities because of "race" (or skin color) can help free those who perpetuate it and those who suffer from it alike.

The content of this book is a part of a broad, diverse, and at times overlapping array of scientific investigations focused upon issues directly and indirectly related to "race relations"/intergroup relations.

The first investigation I reported was an M.A. thesis, Hughes (1968), "Perceptions of Lower Class Negro Students' Teachers Feelings Toward Them Related to School Behavior and Achievement" San Francisco State University. A subsequent series of studies were completed and reported in Sweden while I was a research assistant and graduate student at the Department of Education, University of Stockholm: Hughes (1969) "Relations Between Swedes and Blacks:", "A Pilot Study" (Report Nr 1); Hughes (1970a) "Some Theoretical and Methodological Prospectives and

Considerations" (Report Nr 2); Hughes (1970b) "A Historical Survey:" 1624-1970 (Report Nr 3). Another study in the latter series resulted in a publication: Hughes (1971) "Initial Adjustment Processes Among Some Black Students in Sweden", IMFOGRUPPEN Report Nr 4 Samhällsvetareförlaget, Stockholm, Sweden. The series of studies completed in Stockholm were later compiled and presented as thesis for the Swedish fil lic degree:Hughes (1972) "Some Studies in Intergroup Relations", University of Uppsala, Uppsala, Sweden.

As can be noted the investigations just mentioned were completed respectively in the United States and Sweden. The investigation which resulted in this publication took place in both Sweden and the United States. The study which comprises the content of this book, a cross-cultural comparison of skin color identification and preference among and between 7 through 12 year old children in Sweden and the United States, is the first reported work exploring the issue of skin color preference and identification in the cross-cultural context.

Beyond my special interest in interracial and ethnic minority group problems the topic of this book was motivated by my experiences as a teacher and student in both Sweden and the United States. That is, I was greatly impressed by my casual observations of what appeared to be "significant differences" between how young children in the respective societies seemed to perceive and react to differences in skin color and "race".

Another reason for writing this book was to compare, describe, analyze and understand, rather than to solely evaluate phenomena which in some sectors (the United States) appears far from being eradicated, while in others (Sweden) is hardly negligible.

This book is organized around five chapters. Chapter 1, contains the statement of the purpose and definitions of key terms used in this book.

Chapter 2, houses a review of related research which is pertinent to the specific issues in question. Indeed, research related to the topic of this book is vast and frequently overlapping. However, some areas related to the topic here are almost vacuous of scholarly work, while other areas are replete with the latter. Thus, in some instances, I have cited perhaps only one or a few works to explain, demonstrate

and/or verify a proposition. In other instances I may refer to numerous writers. Still in other cases, I repeatedly refer to certain studies. Finally, in some cases I draw upon what in my opinion is the "best" of what can be termed as "non-scholarly" work; nevertheless, pertinent, "reliable" and "valid" for purposes here.

Chapter 3, contains detailed descriptions of the population and locales where the investigation took place, instruments used, and how the data were treated. Some may believe such detailed descriptions are unwarranted. I do not. The major reason being that, much of the work reported on the topic of skin color identification and preference in my opinion appears to assume that the authors, and the audience, are of "one mind" with respect to the definition of such terms as race, ethnic and minority group, light, medium and dark skin color, racism, prejudice, etc; the prevailing state of "race-relations" in the particular locale where data were gathered; and the specific rationale underlying the design and use of certain instruments and procedures. Therefore, chapter 3 in this book attempts to provide information in sufficient detail so that the reader does not have to "assume" or "speculate" what the author's intentions are, or what he means by the use of certain terms, instruments and procedures.

In chapter 4, the results are presented. Chapter 5, contains a discussion of the implications of the results, conclusions and some propositions.

The bibliography is intended primarily as a collection of the items referred to in the body of the text. It is not a complete coverage of any of the fields involved.

Addendum

The photographs of children and the scoring key which are shown here in black and white, can be obtained in their original color photograph version by forwarding a request to:

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No book is a product of a single person. Although one author's name may appear, he is indebted to numerous others for their contributions. First, I am indebted to the many researchers and theorists whom I have quoted throughout the book. Each gave either information or a new concept, without which my attempts may have been futile.

I am also indebted to the Social Sciences Foundation in Sweden, and to the Department of Educational Research, School of Education and University of Uppsala, Sweden for a grant which enabled me to travel to the United States and gather data for this book. A note of appreciation goes to the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Uppsala, Sweden, which awarded me a research grant, and use of its facilities. My thanks also goes to Michael Kilkenny, Computer Services Center, San Francisco State University, and to the researchers and staff, Department of Educational Research, School of Education and University of Uppsala, Sweden.

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This book certainly may not have been attempted, and carried to its completion without the special kind of help rendered by my family. In grateful acknowledgement of the support and understanding of my spouse Gunilla Thorstensson-Hughes, and the tolerance of our three year old son Don-Pauli, this book is affectionately dedicated.

Sausalito, California
Uppsala, Sweden
January, 1975

William E. Hughes, Jr

TO GUNILLA AND DON-PAULI

CHAPTER ONE

DELIMITATION OF THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.1 Delimitation of the Problem

This study has dealt with findings concerning the relationship between age, sex, skin color, and skin color identification and preference among children in America and in Sweden, ranging from 7 through 12 years of age as measured by a revised version of the Clark Coloring Test (CCT).

The specific objective of this study was to compare the results of skin color identification and preference of the children observed in America and in Sweden, and to analyse the findings in light of earlier work on this topic and in terms of the differences and similarities in American society and in non-American societies with respect to how, if at all individuals, particularly young children identify themselves and prefer others according to skin color.

The subjects of this study were 529 children, 243 of whom were members of various national and ethnic groups attending school and residing in Sweden, (European group) and 286 of whom were Americans of various ethnic backgrounds attending school and residing in America (American group). There were light, medium and dark skin individuals in both groups studied.

A revised version of the Clark Coloring Test was administered to the European group in the language the children were respectively most competent with (e g, Swedish, Finnish, Turkish, etc). The American children had the instruments administered to them in English except in cases where children were identified as bilingual. The bilingual children in the American group spoke either English and Spanish or, English and Chinese (Cantonese dialect). The English-Spanish speaking children had the instruments administered to them in Spanish because nearly all of these children were not sufficiently competent in English. On the other hand, the English-Chinese speaking children had the instruments administered to them in English because they were sufficiently competent in English.

The instruments were administered to the children in the respective schools they attended in the United States and Sweden.

Interpretation of the results focuses upon: relevant literature; social, cultural and political differences between the United States and Sweden, which in my opinion probably account for certain differences in the results among and between the two groups.

1.2 Definition of Terms

Skin Color: refers to three degrees of saturation of human skin pigmentation. The three degrees of saturation are: (1) light; (2) medium; and (3) dark.

Light skin color refers to human skin pigmentation which ranges from the least saturated to very slightly saturated skin pigmentation within a color spectrum ranging from "pinkish-white" to "blackish-brown". Some examples are provided below.

Medium skin color refers to human skin pigmentation which falls between the least to very slightly saturated skin pigmentation, and highly to the "most" saturated skin pigmentation within a color spectrum ranging from "pinkish-white" to "blackish-brown". Some examples are provided below.

Dark skin color refers to human skin pigmentation which ranges from highly to the most saturated skin pigmentation within a color spectrum ranging from "pinkish-white" to "blackish-brown". Some examples are provided below.

It should be noted that, color names used to identify racial and ethnic groups are not used here as the sole means to determine whether an individual is rated light, medium or dark per se. Further, membership in a particular racial or ethnic group does not preclude how a subject's skin color per se will be rated. Moreover, individuals belonging to different racial and ethnic groups who possess similar skin pigmentation are not precluded from being rated as such. Perhaps some further explanatory remarks are in order at this juncture.

According to the definition offered here, within the range of skin pigmentation possessed by Negroes, most of the latter would probably fall in the medium and dark skin categories. However, still according to my definition, some Negroes can be classified as light. On the other hand, strict use of color names such as black or brown to classify Negroes as opposed to the strict use of white to classify Caucasians would preclude members of the two latter groups possessing similar skin pigmentation from being rated accordingly. Let us take a look at some pictures of children possessing similar skin pigmentation, however members of different racial and ethnic groups in order to illustrate how the definition here is operationalized.

Implementing the definition of skin color as enunciated here, we can clearly see that the cildren shown above certainly do not possess the

least saturated, nor do they possess the most saturated human skin pigmentation (Cf examples (1) and (3) below). Consequently, according to the definition used here (Cf example (2) below) the children would be rated as possessing medium skin color.

Therefore, the definition of skin color used here focuses upon degrees of saturation; is relatively independent of the conventional use of color names for racial identification; and is pan-racial/ethnic.

Skin Color Identification/Misidentification Skin color identification refers to a child's reasonably accurate or accurate depiction of their actual skin color by coloring two outline drawings (one of a girl and one of a boy) with one or more crayon colors.

Skin color misidentification refers to an inaccurate depiction of a child's actual skin color. The two outline drawings are items in the CCT revised, which will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

Race and Racial Group(s): In the interest of clarity and in attempt to account for every human group, I shall adopt and use a slightly oversimplified definition of race which is believed to be rather close to the consensus of almost all anthropological opinion (van den Berghe, 1967).

Thus, race shall be defined as, a major group of human beings united by heredity: a major genetic strain or major subspecies (Kroeber, 1948).

The major races, genetic strain or subspecies of man as I have defined them are classified as follows:

"Caucasoid (e g, Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean and Hindu).
Mongoloid (e g, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, Malaysian and American Indian).
Negroid (e g, Negro, Melanesian, Pygmy and Bushman)" (Kroeber, 1948).

The three racial groups mentioned above according to Kroeber (1948) account for 99 per cent of all human beings. The remaining minor or aberrant forms are best kept separate, provisionally since they are of doubtful classification. All of them appear to affiliate preponderantly with one or more of the three major classes, but still differ sufficiently in one or more particulars to prevent their being included in them outright (for example, Austroloids, Veddoids (Indo-Australia) and Polynesians) Kroeber, 1948.

There are several good arguments advanced in favor of finer classifications of the three major racial groups. These arguments often rest on minutely

distinguishable differences in physical traits (Allport, 1954). Minutely distinguishable or questionable differences in group physical traits does not suffice for purposes here. As a simple illustration: some people (A) would claim that Swedes (Nordics) and Italians (Mediterraneans) can be distinguished on the basis of certain physical traits which are predominant in their respective groups. Consequently, Swedes and Italians should be classified as distinct racial groups. On the other hand, there are some people (B) who would say the latter distinction cannot be made "reliably". Here, such claims or points of view are untenable bacause they lend themselves to unscientific polemics.

Indeed, I doubt that either A or B would have much, if any serious disagreement over various physical traits which distinguish Caucasoids (e g, Swedes and Italians) from Negroids (e g, Pygmies and Negroes) or Negroes from Mongoloids (e g, Chinese and Japanese). The latter illustration exemplifies operationally the definition and classification of races which shall be used in this paper.

Ethnic/Cultural Group: An ethnic or cultural group is a human group which shares cultural characteristics or traits, such as, language, religion, preparation of certain foods in a certain way, certain social practices and rituals, etc. For example, Swedes, Poles, Czechs and Greeks are ethnic groups. Allport (1954), Williams (1965) and Kluckhorn (1948) observed that frequently, many people confuse ethnic traits with racial traits. Ethnic traits are acquired through learning (e g, skin color and facial features).

Finally, at the individual level, membership in a cultural group by no means preclude acquiring non-ingroup cultural traits, patterns and language, etc, i e, some individuals assimilate into other cultural groups.

National Group(s): refers to a community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government (e g, Americans, Swedes, Swiss, etc). This definition, of course, excludes such groups in the United States, as so-called "Black Nationalist", various"American Indian Nations", and the like. The primary reason for this position is due to the simple fact that the latter types of "groups", are in fact largely, if not only recognized by themselves and by no means are they able to lay claim to or purport to be a sovereign state. However, they can be, and perhaps are

recognized by some as sociopolitical subgroups within a given nation.

Racism: In popular modern usage the term racism is often used to refer to the overt, violent hatred of "racial outgroups". Here I shall adopt a much wider definition. Racism is any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics. Hence, that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups biologically and socially defined as races (Van den Berghe, 1967).

Institutionalized Racism: exists in societies when group differences in physical traits are considered a determinant of social behavior, moral and intellectual qualities, and explicit and implicit social norms (sometimes legal norms) and these societies provoke, sanction and reward individuals and groups who are prejudiced and discriminate against racial "outgroups" on the basis of differences in physical traits (real or imagined). Classic examples of societies wherein institutionalized racism exists are: the Apartheid "state" in South Africa, Rhodesia and to varying degrees in England, according to Banton (1955) and in America, according to Grier and Cobbs (1969), Kardiner and Ovesey (1955).

Non-Institutionalized Racism: refers to societies when individuals and special interest groups who are racially prejudiced upon given opportunity(ies) practice racial discrimination, but the official norms of the given society favor non-discrimination and expressions of racial prejudice and discrimination generally meet with strong disapproval. Thus, racism is largely, if not entirely practiced at the individual and small group level in what might at best be termed, "random patterns", without rewards which are sanctioned by society at large.

To provide what I believe to be fair examples of non-institutionalized racism, I beg the readers indulgence, since I must draw upon my personal experiences during my numerous years of residence in Europe (most of which has been spent in Sweden) and impressions of others. According

to testimonies of numerous friends and associates and my own personal experiences, countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland do not have at large any such conditions which can rightly be termed forms of institutionalized racism. Moreover, all of the latter officially favor non-discriminatory policies and behavior. However, I have been apprised by many others and personally experienced situations wherein a Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and/or Finnish individual, or group of individuals were apparently manifesting behavior born out of racist beliefs or attitudes, i e, discriminating against others or myself because of their or my assumed or known group membership (Negroid). In such cases, those actors who were believed to be discriminating because of racist beliefs certainly could not have expected their behavior to have been sanctioned by the respective societies at large. Consequently, it must be assumed that their goal(s) were essentially limited to personal and/or special group needs, and not for "societies needs" at large.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED RESEARCH AND THE DIRECTION OF THIS INVESTIGATION

The principal burden of this study has been to determine and compare the relationship between age, sex, skin color, identification/misidentification of skin color and skin color preferences among and between children 7 through 12 years old in the United States and Sweden. Indeed, there is a spate of literature generic to the present work. The former, often fall into broad and frequently overlapping categories. Consequently, this review will examine only that literature which is cognate with the foci of this investigation.

1. Research documenting the ability of young children to identify their own skin color or "race", and the magnitude of misidentification of skin color among young children.
2. Research denoting skin color preferences of children, and awareness of the social implications/consequences of skin color.
3. Research addressing the connotations and implications of color names.

2.1 Skin Color Identification and Misidentification

Horowitz (1939) offers one of the earliest studies concerned with the problem of children's emergent awareness of themselves with reference to a specific social grouping based on color. Her study dealt with race-consciousness conceived as a function of ego-development. Her procedure is described in detail because of its pioneer status, and (in my opinion) because much of the research procedures developed in over three decades subsequently has been to some extent patterned from this early effort. Two pictures were used with 24 children from two to five years of age: (a) Choice tests - one pair of photographs for boys and girls respectively, showing a Caucasian child and a Negro child; one pair of line drawings showing a Caucasian boy and a Negro boy; one set of four line drawings showing a Caucasian boy, a Negro boy, a chicken, and a clown. Boys were asked in each case to identify themselves. The form of the question was "Show me which one is you?" "Which one is _____?" (using the name of the subject). The girls after having identified themselves in the first item, were asked to identify brothers or cousins in the three

boy's items. (b) The Portrait Series - 10 portrait pictures were exposed at one time. Children were asked, "Is this you? Is this _____?" (using name of child). This latter technique did not give as satisfactory results as the first.

In the Choice Tests Horowitz found that 68.4 per cent of the children were "correct" and 31.6 per cent were "incorrect". In the second series of line drawings more errors on the whole were made, "but the balance of errors was weighted in the same direction". In the third series of this technique, four of five Negro boys made "correct" identifications and three out of seven caucasian boys made "correct" identifications. The general limitations involved in the small number of cases were recognized by the author. She states: "Further work will, of course, have to be done to determine how common it is and within what framework of circumstance it operates".

Clark and Clark (1939) using a procedure similar to Horowitz in an effort to get some indication of the nature of development of consciousness of self in Negro preschool children, with special reference to emergent race consciousness, showed 150 Negro children in segregated schools a series of line drawings of Caucasian and Negro boys, a lion, a dog, a clown and a hen and asked them to identify themselves or others. Clark and Clark found: the total group made more choices of the Negro boy than of the Caucasian boy; the ratio of choices of the Negro boy to choices of the Caucasian boy increased with age in favor of the Negro boy; choices of the lion, dog, clown and hen were dropped off at the end of the three year old level, indicating a level of development of consciousness of self where identification of one's self is in terms of a distinct person rather than in terms of animals or other characters; the girls' responses were in the main "seeming chance responses".

Clark and Clark (1939) in summing up their work said, "The fact that the sharpest increase in identifications with the Negro boy occurred between the three and four year level and failed to increase significantly at the five year level suggests that either this picture technique is not as sensitive when used with five year olds as with three and four year olds, or that a plateau in the development of this function occurs between the ages of four and five, or that the five year olds have reached a stage in selfawareness which approaches a concept of self in terms of a concrete intrinsic self, less capable of ab-

stractions or external representation". (p 598)

Clark and Clark (1940) conducted another study wherein the experimental procedure was the same; however, the subjects were divided on the basis of skin color.

Clark and Clark in discussing the results of the latter investigation pointed out that Horowitz (1939) "states that Negro children's identifications of themselves with the line drawings and pictures of the white children could be interpreted as 'wishful activity', or as identifying one's self 'not so much in terms of what one is as ... in terms of what one is not' " (p 166). Clark and Clark further claim: "It is clear that the consistent identifications of the light children with the white boy strongly point in the direction of an awareness of self in terms of a concrete physical characteristic such as skin color. While it is still possible that the factor of 'wishful activity' may be of some influence here in a few instances, it seems, however, too great an abstraction, in the face of the predominant concrete clue of the actual skin color of the light subjects to be seriously considered as a determining factor in this instance. It is only when the more concrete factors, e g, dark skin color, would tend to militate against a given choice that one would be justified in utilizing intangible concepts for an interpretation of the results". (p 166)

On the other hand, the Clarks note: "Although twice as many children were consistently choosing the colored boy, eight of them were consistently choosing the white boy. 'Wishful activity' as an explanatory concept seems to be more plausible here - but at best not a very strong point in the face of lack of information concerning the effects of other factors on consciousness of self and racial identification; namely, intelligence and an understanding by the subjects of the concept of difference". (p 166)

In a preliminary supplementary study made by the latter authors to determine the number of children who were able to verbalize the actual skin color differences in the drawings of the Caucasian and Negro boy, the awareness of this difference was expressed by the subjects' pointing to the drawings and saying something as follows: "He's white - and he's colored" or "A black boy - a white boy." Among the four children positively indicating a skin color difference in this supplementary study and at the same time consistently choosing the Caucasian boy in the picture series three were light and one was medium. The authors

claim, "This result, if substantiated by a more extensive investigation would definitely rule out 'wishful activity' as an explanation of the choices of the white boy by these Negro children in the one instance in which it at present seems most applicable. Then, too, the operation of 'whishful activity' involves the following two factors: (a) The negation of concrete determinant of self, and (b) an evaluation of alternative and a definite decision as to the better of the two. This, in the light of the observed behavior of the children, seems wholly outside of their scope." (Clark & Clark, 1940, p 167)

In general, these results give little evidence of the operation of 'whishful activity' in the identifications of the subjects and show clearly that identification of oneself is in terms of 'what one is rather than what one is not'.

Horowitz (1939) states: "Judging from the choices of the children and their verbal comments, one may conclude that identification with the correct picture indicates an awareness of one's own skin color as a factor of differentiation and similarity." While Clark and Clark (1940) counter, "If this awareness of one's own skin color is actually a level of self consciousness preceding consciousness of socially defined racial differences, one would expect these light children to identify themselves with pictures of white children. Any interpretation of data in terms of correct identifications, i e, identifications of Negro children with pictures of colored children, disguises significant findings. The fact that identification of light children with pictures of the white boy is an indication of awareness of self in terms of one's own skin color is supported in this (Clark and Clark's) study by: (a) The fact that at all ages the light cildren made more choices of the white boy than of the colored boy; (b) the fact that light children showed a sharp increase in identification with the white boy from the three to the four year level and maintained this increase at the five year level; (c) the fact that 10 out of 14 light children making consistent choices in the picture series chose the white boy rather than the colored boy; (d) the fact that of children verbally indicating a skin color or racial difference between the colored and white boys (supplementary study) and at the same time consistently choosing the white boy in the picture series, three out of four were light in skin color." (p 167)

"The general tendency of the dark children to identify themselves with the drawings of the colored boy is not incompatible with the objective fact of their own skin color. This same thing holds true of the medium children with certain modifications. There would be, however, a definite incompatibility if the majority of light children identified themselves with the drawings of the colored boy, hence the persistance of their identifications with the white boy." According to Clark and Clark (1940), it is "obvious that these children are not identifying on the basis of 'race' because 'race' is a social concept which they learn at a higher stage in their development", and concluding, "they are, however, definitely identifying on the basis of their own skin color which is to them a concrete reality." (p 168)

Indeed, these pioneer efforts by Horowitz, Clark and Clark were the first which clearly established that young children from around three to four years old recognize and are able to identify their own skin color and that this ability increases with age and becomes stable around five years of age. Resolution of the question whether children are able to identify themselves on the basis of race, as claimed by Horowitz (1939), or on the sole basis of skin color as proposed by Clark and Clark (1939), seems best founded in the reasoning of the latter. Later investigations by Helgersen (1943); Goodman (1946; Clark and Clark (1947); Schmidt (1948; Ammons (1950); Platt (1950); Landreth and Johnson (1953); Stevenson and Stewart (1958); Morland (1958, 1962, 1963, 1966); Renninger and Williams (1966) all using Horowitz's or Clark and Clark's procedures or variants realized data corroborating the latters' early findings with respect to young children's ability to identify their own skin color.

These studies, the Clarks' in particular, have had a strong impact. Results of those studies prior to 1954 according to Greenwald & Oppenheim (1968), indeed, played a role in the formulation of the psychological and sociological foundations in the argument against school segregation set forth in the legal brief by the NAACP before the United States Supreme Court. It is well known that the Court gave much credence to the latter psychological and sociological positions advanced in their written opinion ruling in favor of the NAACP. The results of these studies (Clark and Clark (1947); Horowits (1939); Goodman (1946, et al) might also lead some psychologists to pursue such mediating factors as "denial of racial identity" and "Confused self-image". (p 49) See for example, Frazier (1957c); Fanon (1967;

Grier (1969); Hare (1965); Hughes (1971, 1972); Kardiner (1951); contrast with Valentine (1971); Fanon (1963); Myrdal (1944); Allport (1954); Aptheker (1951); van den Berghe (1966, 1967); Wright (1957).

Moreover, Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) claim that these studies merit certain methodological consideration. They note, "In the Clark and Clark, Horowitz and Morland studies the Negro children were given a choice of only two skin colors (e g, white versus dark brown). But in the Clarks' study 80 % of the light-skinned Negro children misidentified themselves, compared to only 23 % for medium and dark-skinned children. Perhaps the lighter skinned children were objectively correct: the white doll actually may have resembled their skin color more than the dark doll. And the Clarks' study, the only one which tabulated responses by Negro children's skin color, did not compare Negro responses with those of whites, although some of the later studies did make this comparison.

Perhaps the misidentification results are misleading. In studies employing only two alternatives, the responses of the light-skinned Negro children may have been forced factually." Besides, a certain percentage of children of any color may, indeed, have an erroneous perception of themselves.

Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) claim that, "Methodological aspects of previous racial doll studies prompted a replication with certain changes: white as well as Negro children were given a choice of 3 rather than 2 different skin colors with which to identify," white, so-called mulatto, and dark brown.

The results of the latter study showed that only 13 % of the Negro children misidentified themselves in the sample, compared to 39 % among the Clarks' Northern Negro children (33 % in their total sample). As predicted by Greenwald and Oppenheim, the mulatto doll did play a role in reducing the percentage of misidentifications. Only 11 % of the light-skinned children misidentified themselves (i e, reported that the white doll looked like them) in this study while 80 % did in the Clarks' study. This reduction of incorrect responses was highly significant. The results are similar to Horowitz's (1939) report of only 17 % misidentifications. Interestingly, the number of misidentifications among medium skinned Negroes remained about the same (25 % in this study, 26 % in the Clarks' study) but dark skinned Negroes no longer misidentified themselves (compared to 19 % misidentification in the Clarks' results).

According to Greenwald and Oppenheim, this may have been due to 50 % of the Negro children identifying with the mulatto doll.

On the other hand, misidentification among Caucasian children was 44 %. This simply means that Caucasian children were more apt to make mistakes when matching themselves with a skin color. This latter finding was highly significant. The authors did, however, note that,..."procedure may have artificially contributed to the whites' misidentifications. Perhaps the mulatto doll was an appropriate choice for some white children - those who were darker skinned. Unfortunately, this problem was not anticipated and no measures of white children's skin color were obtained. If the white children's selections of a mulatto doll (25 %) are viewed as appropriate choices then the picture changes considerably. The white children's misidentification would drop to 19 %, resembling Morland's (1963) finding of 14 % misidentification among white children. While still sizable, a fifth of the sample, this 19 % of whites' misidentification would not be significantly different from the Negroes 13 % misidentification ..." (p 52)

Indeed, the results on Negro children's misidentification obtained by Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968) imply that earlier work, particularly the Clarks', may have inadvertently "forced" the children's choices. That is, the children only had choices of two skin colors, white and dark brown. Perhaps for a certain percentage of the children studied neither white or dark brown would have been appropriate skin colors for them to identify with. The latter, coupled with a percentage of children who are likely to make "mistakes" would certainly net a higher percentage of children misidentifying themselves than would probably be the case if the children had a more diverse spectrum of skin colors with which to identify, as demonstrated by Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968). The latter authors sum up their work with an important observation, "Two fundamental methodological issues were interestingly illustrated in this (their) study:... striking misinterpretations which can arise when (a) subjects' response range is restricted, and (b) no base line is available with which to compare the results. In the first instance, providing a more continous response range improved the precision of subjects' responses. And in the second instance, the Clarks' implicit independent variable (subjects' race) had a "missing level" (white children). With the inclusion of the latter for comparison a clearer perspective emerged for viewing both the direction and the magnitude of the Negro children's responses." (p 52)

2.2 Skin Color Preference, Awareness of Social Implications and Consequences

Horowitz (1939); Clark and Clark (1939, 1939a, 1940, 1947) have shown that the majority of the Negro children they studied preferred a white skin color and "reject" a brown skin color and this preference was found to decrease gradually from four through seven years. This tendency to prefer a white skin was most pronounced in children of light skin color and least so in dark children. Northern children had a more definite preference for white skin color than children in Southern communities. Indeed, the latter results are subject to question given the fact that these children were only given two alternatives (a white doll or picture of a white person and a brown doll or picture of a Negro person) thereby restricting their response range. As was pointed out in the preceding section on misidentification the latter procedure may, indeed, yield erroneous results. However, Clark and Clark (1950), using a Coloring test which offered a greater choice of responses to be made than either the line-drawing or doll technique found the tendency of their subjects (Negro children) to reject the brown color was expressed not only in coloring their preferences white, but also in making irrelevant or escapist responses. The Clarks' claim, "The latter form of expressing rejection of the brown color points to an emotional conflict centering around some children's evaluation of their own skin color and particularly in their skin color preferences." (p 349) The Clarks' (1950, p 349) also found that escapist responses (in coloring preferences) are most marked in children living in the North and most marked in five year olds but are found in some children in both North and South, at all ages, and through all skin colors. Contrary to earlier work by Horowitz (1939); Clark and Clark (1939, 1939a, 1940, 1947) the Clarks' 1950 study revealed that the clear-cut rejection of brown as a skin color preference (coloring one's preference white) was most marked in dark children, but that it appeared to a considerable extent in all skin color groups and throughout all age levels (earlier work demonstrated that light children preferred white more than did dark children, and this preference decreased around age five). Interestingly, the latter study further revealed that by age seven the Negro child in the main indicated a clear preference for white skin color.

The Clarks' departing from their earlier position (Clark and Clark, 1939) conclude their (1950) effort by observing, "It appears from the data that coincident with the awareness of racial differences and racial

identity there is also the awareness and acceptance of the existing cultural attitudes and values attached to race. It is clear that the Negro child by the age of five is aware of the fact that to be colored in contemporary American society is a mark of inferior status. The discrepancy between identifying ones own color and indicating ones color preference is too great to be ignored. The negation of the color brown exists in the same complexity of attitudes in which there also exists knowledge of the fact that the child himself must be identified with that which he rejects. This apparently introduces a fundamental conflict at the very foundations of ego structure. Many of these children attempt to resolve this profound conflict either through wishful thinking or phantasy - expressing itself in a desire to escape a situation which focuses the conflict for them. By the seven-year level the Negro child seems to be developing some stabilizing ideas which might help to resolve the basic conflict between his racial self-image and the negative social evaluation of his skin color. The early age at which this conflict exists and for which stabilizing mechanisms appear in an attemt to resolve them seems a significant finding not only for scientists interested in the problem of personality development but social scientists interested in racial problems and techniques for racial adjustment." (p 350)

Williams and Edwards (1959) using laboratory reinforcement procedures to weaken the naturally formed black-white concept attitudes of five year old Caucasian children, subsequently found some evidence for a reduction in the tendency to attribute negative adjectives to pictures of Negroes and positive adjectives to pictures of Caucasians.

The study can be viewed as providing evidence in support of the hypothesis concerning a functional link between the black-white concept attitude and the racial concept attitude; children whose black-white concept attitude had been weakened subsequently showed somewhat less tendency to evaluate Negroes negatively and Caucasians positively. The change in racial attitude attributable to the experimental treatment, however, was not great; the mean racial attitude score was 7.98 in the experimental group and 9.60 in the control group. Another way to summarize this change is by noting that 70 percent of the individuals in the control group displayed an anti-Negro, pro-Caucasian prejudice (i e, made RA scores of 9 and up) compared with only 48 percent of the individuals in the pooled experimental group - a difference which is significant. These results are considered consistent with the theory that the black-

white concept attitude serves as one support for the racial concept attitude.

Williams and Edwards (1969) aptly point out, "Because of the social significance of racial attitudes, one must guard against the overgeneralization of (their) results which appear to be encouraging with respect to the amelioration of racial prejudice. In this regard, the result of this (their) study should be interpreted quite cautiously and only taken as indicating one possible line of approach to the solution of this critical social problem." (p 749)

In a similar study (Cantor, 1972a) eleven year old Caucasian children (40 males, 40 females) were exposed to ten 10-second presentations of each of 3 pictures of Caucasian and each of 3 pictures of Negro boys. The children then rated these pictures and also those of 3 previously unseen Caucasians and Negroes on a 5 point rating scale, indicating the extent to which they "would like to bring the boy home and spend time with them and their families." The major results were: (a) the children as a group rated the Negroes more highly than the Caucasians; and (b) familiarization enhanced ratings made both by male and female children of the Negroes, but not the ratings of the Caucasians (male children rated familiar Caucasians below nonfamiliar Caucasians, whereas, the female children gave these groups virtually identical ratings).

Obviously, the results might have been different if both pictures of males and females were used, both of Negroes and Caucasians. On a more serious note, Cantor (1972a) observes, "...the possibility that effects obtained in this study (his) such as the present one could be due at least in part to the particular pictures chosen to comprise the group of whites and the group of blacks. For example, one might wish to argue that the blacks who were used appear to be of an age more appropriate for association with fifth-graders (eleven year olds) than is the case for whites. A difference of this sort could be appealed to in explaining the white versus black main effect and even, conceivably, the familiar versus nonfamiliar white versus black interaction. The answer to this problem may lie in the use of pictures of whites and blacks drawn from a large pool, the members of which have been scaled on a number of dimensions (such as apparent age, attractiveness, etc), with the white and black pictures to be used being equated on the basis of such scale values!

Whatever causal factors played a role in producing the results obtained in the present study, one cannot help but reflect on the substantially higher ratings given both the males and females to the familiar as compared with the nonfamiliar blacks. Although one might wish to question whether any real-life implications reside in data produced in a laboratory session lasting 20 minutes per child, the author (Cantor) is enough of an optimist to hope that the 'mere exposure' effect just mentioned (and also the effect stemming from the general tendency of the Ss to rate the blacks more highly than the whites) may have some social as well as statistical significance."

In another experimental investigation, Doke and Risley (1972) studied some "discriminative properties of race and sex for children from an all-Negro neighborhood." Doke and Risley's subjects were Negro children falling into 2 age groups (4-6 and 9-12 years old) serving in a comparison of the discriminative control exerted by sex and race aspects of other children. For all the children, base lines were established in which color photoslides of a Negro girl and a Caucasian boy differentially controlled responding on 2 push buttons. Responses during the test probes picturing Negro boys and Caucasian girls, as well as different Negro girls and Caucasian boys, indicated predominant control by the stimulus dimension of sex for the younger children but less predictable stimulus control for the older children. Doke and Risley, note, "...the stimulus that controlled each child's discriminative behavior was identified by the distribution of responses between the two manipulanda during the photoslides of individuals from new race-sex groupings, that is, Caucasian girls and Negro boys. Statistically significant differences were noted between 'younger' and 'older' children with respect to the distribution of responses during probes featuring Caucasian girls, $t(10) = 6,93$, $p < .001$, and Negro boys, $t(10) = 6.10$, $p < .001$. During Caucasian girl probes, all of the 'younger' children pushed the button which had been appropriate to the Negro girl in training. And in the presence of Negro boy probes, all of the 'younger' children pushed the button which had been appropriate to the Caucasian boy in training. Thus, all the 'young' children generalized along the dimension of sex." (p 679) Indeed, the results obtained by Doke and Risley, regarding the 'younger' children's responses might well have been a result of operant conditioning artificially induced by the experimental procedures, i e, the children might have been responding to the button they "learned" previously to push.

Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether the results of this study are representative of a child's behavior when he meets people who differ along dimensions in addition to race in the "real world".

Doke and Risley (1972) were examining the relative control exerted by race and sex over nonverbal responses (button pushing) that were differentially reinforced with respect to stimuli in which both aspects changed. Since differential reinforcement of these responses is impossible outside the laboratory, the use of such responses reduced the likelihood of confounding effects introduced by uncontrolled contigencies.

Concluding, Doke and Risley remark, "Several studies are consistent with the proposition that racial characteristics of people will control responding in young children, but only when no other alternative dimensions are available. Clark and Clark (1939), Doke (1969), Goodman (1964), Landreth and Johnson (1953), Renninger and Williams (1966), and Risley (1968) have reported control by racial aspects of stimuli that featured racially different individuals of the same sex. However, in the present study and in a study by Stevenson and Stewart (1958), test stimuli featured individuals differing in both sex and race. Under these conditions, the sex dimension was noted to exert predominant control over responding in young children." (p 679)

Cantor (1972a), in an interesting experiment using a conflict paradigm to study race awareness in children, had 60 Caucasian second graders (six-seven year olds) make selective responses involving 6 different pairs of pictures - 2 pairs of Caucasian boys (W-W), 2 pairs of Negroes (B-B), and 2 pairs that included a Caucasian and a Negro (W-B). For each of the 3 picture-pair types, 1 choice was made of a boy described as "good" in some sense, the second choice being made of a boy described as "bad". On the W-B trials, significantly more children chose white for "good" and black for "bad" than would be expected by chance. On the W-W trials, response latencies were longer for "bad" than for "good" choices, wheras the opposite relationship held on the B-B trials. Overall, the children took longer to respond on the W-W than on the B-B trials; however, followup tests indicated this difference was significant for the "bad" but not for the "good" choices, and for these children choosing white for "good" and black for "bad" on the W-B trials but not for the remaining children.

The obtained interaction in the latency data between the W-W versus B-B and "good" versus "bad" was interpreted by Cantor (1972a) as meaning the children found choosing a "bad" boy more problematic (conflictful) than choosing a "good" boy when the choice was between whites, whereas, the opposite was the case when the choice was between blacks. Cantor (1972a) further observes that "the children who labeled white for 'good' and black for 'bad' on the B-W trials took significantly longer to make judgments involving the W-W than the B-B pairs (regardless of the 'good-bad' distinction), whereas the remaining children did not." According to Cantor,"The implication seems to be that the children taking significantly longer to make judgments on W-W than on B-B trials found it easier to make judgments about blacks than about whites, suggesting the presence in them of a stereotypic mode of responding toward blacks." Cantor certainly notes some definite differences in response latencies that clearly seem to reflect the existence of racial awareness in the Caucasian second graders he studied. He confirms earlier findings, but with a previously unused independent variable.

Contrary to results obtained by numerous investigators mentioned above, Kircher and Furby (1971), attempting to ascertain whether children at ages 3, 4 and 5 (in addition to demonstrating skin color preferences) also show any preference for other features, such as eye color, hair color and hair type, found: Both 4 and 5 year old whites show a greater preference for white skin than do 3 year old whites (the latter show no preference). However, while the Negro 4 year olds show a significant preference for white skin, by age 5 they show no preference. Since 3 year old Negroes also showed no skin color preference, the 4 year old preference may reflect the influence of having a "white teacher", If so, (accordning to Kircher and Furby) the population skin color preference may be even weaker than their results indicate. In previous studies (Horowitz, Clark and Clark and many others) both Negro and Caucasian children showed an increasing preference for white skin with increasing age. Kircher and Furby (1971) claim, "This reversal of earlier data could be the result of the relatively recent 'black is beautiful movement'" (in this writer's opinion, the latter statement is considered more of a construction in the minds of Kircher and Furby, since I have never heard nor been able to obtain any evidence of a so-called black is beautiful "movement" per se, but rather a black is beautiful "concept" promoted by mass media and some in the American Negro population). Kircher and Furby (1971) go on to suggest, "By the age of 5, the Negro child may have received considerable exposure to this movement and to

its verbal motto. Such exposure may help create respect and preference for his own skin color. This interpretation is supported by the fact that there is no significant trend toward preferring the three other Negro characteristics, since for the young child the verbal statement 'black is beautiful' is explicitly connected only with skin color, and not with other typically Negro characteristics such as curly hair, brown eyes, and black hair. In time, however, these characteristics may be included in the Negro children's views of the 'black is beautiful' movement and may reverse white prejudices they now hold." (p 2078) I am somewhat at a loss with respect to what the latter authors mean by "children's views of the ... movement" and "white prejudices they hold". Thus, although tempted, I must, indeed, reserve my comments at this juncture.

The most interesting observation which can be made with regard to the study just mentioned, is the simple fact that the authors omitted indicating whether or not the pictures shown to the children denoted skin color or any facial characteristics attributed to Caucasians and Negroes. If the pictures did in some way suggest "race" (and I don't see how this could be avoided) then, the results reported may, indeed, be misleading. The chief reason for the latter comment is because the pictures may have suggested physical characteristics associated with certain racial groups, which in turn would suggest possession of certain skin pigmentation. For example, if the pictures depicted individuals with thick lips and broad noses, many people would construe this to mean the individual being depicted "must" be a Negro, because most Negroes are thought to possess such characteristics. On the other hand, a picture depicting an individual with straight hair and thin lips would likely be thought of as imply Caucasian. Consequently, a respondant would probably color the pictures brown or black, and white respectively, (see Allport, 1954, pp 131-132).

Williams and Roberson (1967) did a study aimed at developing a method for the assessment of racial attitudes in young children which could be coordinated with traditional attitude scales via the rationale of the semantic differential. One hundred and eleven Caucasian preschool children were administered picture-story procedures to assess: (a) the evalu-

ative connotations of Negro and Caucasian figures; (b) the evaluative connotations of the colors black and white; and (c) the child's knowledge of sex-role behaviors (a control measure). The authors provide us with some interesting inferences derived from data obtained by them, noting, "It was surprising to observe the frequency with which these predominantly middle-class children obtained high scores on the racial-attitude measure; in the oldest group, 86,5 per cent of the children scored in the prejudiced direction 11 or 12 times out of 12 opportunites." (pp 686-687) Williams and Roberson, (1967 pp 686-687) with respect to the latter, observe, "To put this in another, more startling, way: these preschoolers knew their prejudice about as well as they knew their sex-roles!" (pp 686-687) Do these extreme scores signify only consistency of attitude or do they reflect attitude intensity? The authors claim, "The conservative answer would be that the higher the score, the more consistent the negative attitude toward dark persons since operationally, the high scores were obtained by responding to six different pairs of evaluative adjectives in the prejudiced direction, i e, the brown skin figures were not merely 'bad', they were also 'ugly', 'dirty', 'stupid', and 'mean'. Logically, one can conceive of the child who obtains a high score not because of any very strong negative feelings about dark skinned persons, but because such persons are viewed consistently as a 'little bad', a 'little ugly', a 'little dirty', etc." On the other hand, consistency of negative attitude appears often to be used as an index of attitude intensity, as in the case of attitude scale which are scored by summing the number of different items to which subjects respond in a negative manner.

Williams and Roberson conclude, "The data pertaining to the relative development of racial attitude and color meaning suggest that the two are developing concurrently, with the former developing slightly ahead of the latter. This result does not support the earlier hypothesis (Renninger and Williams, 1966) that the black-white color meanings are learned first, and provide a frame of reference for the learning of evaluative responses to racial groups designated as 'black' and 'white'. (p 687) The present findings are more consistent with the view that the color-meaning factor acts as a contributing or reinforcing factor in the early development of racial prejudice.

Radke, Sutherland and Rosenberg (1948) studied 475 Negro and Caucasian children between the ages 7 and 13, an entire school population, in which the Caucasian children constituted only 10 to 15 % of the population. The test situations provided data on the children's evaluations of

personality characteristics in each race and on their choices and rejections of friends in each race.

The latter investigators found that: The Caucasian children in all situations and at all ages (7 to 13 years) expressed strong preference for their own racial group. This is particularly the case when their choices between Negro and Caucasian children as friends are on an abstract or wish level (Picture Sociometric Tests). A school situation in which teachers and administration attempt to create an atmosphere of racial understanding greatly increases the number of interracial choices from the white children. This interracial choice is strictly limited to the classroom and does not carry over in neighborhood situations where the Negro-Caucasian ratio is about the same as in the school. The Caucasian children expressed unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes by assigning the undesirable characteristics to photographs of Negro children. These generalizations apply to each of the age levels studied.

The responses of the Negro children on the assignment of behavior characteristics to their own race and to the Caucasian race show a much less positive attitude toward their own race than is shown by the Caucasian children toward the Caucasian race. The Negro children largely showed a tendency to assign undesirable characteristics to their own race. What seems to be self-rejection and ambivalence toward their own race appears again in the Negro children's responses to photographs on questions of preferred friends. There, roughly half of the rejections are of their own race.

The attractions and repulsions expressed by both Negro and Caucasian children on questions about friendships are related to their perceptions of the personality characteristics of each race. These perceptions in which the undesirable characteristics are ascribed to the Negro children and the desirable to the white children are consistent with both the wish of the Negro and Caucasian children to have Caucasian children as friends. Radke, et al, conclude, "The negative self-concept of the minority member which plays such an important role in the dynamics of the adult minority-majority group conflicts, is thus demonstrated to have its beginnings in childhood ... The implications of this study are clear. They point to the necessity for attacking problems of prejudice with the very young children, and for preventive intercultural education programs in the very early years."(p 171)

Landreth and Johnson (1953) presented three and five year old children of "white upper, white lower and Negro lower socio-economic class status" (228 in all) a picture inset test designed to reveal reactions to persons of "white, brown and black skin color".

The test required each child to make 54 choices of one of a pair of insets to complete a picture. In 36 choices one of the insets matched the picture in skin color of the person represented, in 18, neither inset did. The results showed social group, age and sex differences in patterns of response which appeared to reflect environmental influences dependent on socio-economic status.

The results reveal that the white upper class groups likely perceived the test as a matching problem because they made more matching responses at each age level than the other groups. Social group difference were all significant at the five year level. The upper class whites also showed no significant differences in their choice of skin colors, indicating that skin color per se was not perceived as an important factor in their choice. The latter result is opposite of results obtained by Horowitz (1939) and Clark and Clark (1939, 1939a, 1940, 1947, 1950) studying color preference among Negro children in the same age range.

The white lower class groups resembled the Negroes in showing significant differences in their choice of white skin color when paired with brown or black skin color. Though they showed a greater tendency to match than the Negro children, there were significant differences in their matching choices for different skin colors. In this group skin color was probably an important factor in their determining choice of inset.

Although the Negro groups showed little more than chance frequency in matching skin colors, they showed no significant differences in choice of white over brown and black, and even brown over black skin color. They also made more comments expressing preference and hostility for different skin colors.

The age differences in each group were, in general, in terms of accentuation of a group pattern already present at three years old. For example, preference for white skin color in the white lower class group became more significant at five years than at three, and preference for brown over black in Negro children showed a similar trend in in-

creased significance. Age differences were less marked for the Negro children than the other two groups, (according to Landreth and Johnson) suggesting that environmental influences directing attention to skin color may be effective earlier in Negro than in Caucasian groups; the latter being consistent with Clark and Clark (1939-1950).

Sex differences, though only significant in one comparison for upper class white three year olds suggested some relationship with socio-economic status. Caucasian upper class girls and lower class Negro boys showed more preference for white skin color than white lower class girls and upper class boys.

Summing up, Landreth and Johnson, suggest that "the implications of the findings would seem obvious. Patterns of response to persons of different skin color are present as early as three years and become accentuated during the succeeding two years. Though living in a democracy, many Negro citizens apparently learn by three years of age that skin color is important, that white is to be desired, dark to be regretted. As for the white skinned citizens, what they learn in their first five years about skin color appears to be related to their parents' occupation, education, intelligence, and residential neighborhood. Young children of parents engaged in professions perceive skin color in cognitive terms, children of parents engaged in semi-skilled occupations perceive it in affective terms." (p 78)

2.3 Connotations and Implications of Color Names

Racial groups are commonly referred to by means of a "color-code" in which Caucasians are designated as "white", Mongoloids as "yellow", Latins as "brown" and Negroes as "black".

This long-standing custom has received a new emphasis in recent years as a result of the Negro American so-called "black identity" movement, the rhetoric of which makes extensive use of the terms black and white for racial designation. This use of these terms is, of course, by no means accurate in describing skin color, which for Caucasians might be described as some shade of light-pink to even dark brown (Kroeber, 1948); for Mongoloids, as some shade of light-pink to light brown; for Latins light-pink to dark brown; and for Negroes, light-pink to dark brown. Apart from this descriptive inaccuracy, the use of white and black as racial labels may have at least two consequences which many persons

would view undesirable: first, the use of the opposite terms white and black for designating two groups of persons seem to imply that these groups are somehow "opposite", and to exaggerate whatever "true" differences there may be between them; second, the terms white and black are not neutral terms but are widely used in a variety of non-racial contexts as symbols of "goodness" and "badness", respectively (Williams, 1964). The use of color names as racial labels seem to cast the matter of racial classification into an intrinsically evaluative context in which connotations of the color names may become conditioned to the racial groups with which they are associated (Filler and Williams, 1971). In this regard, one might speculate that the black identity slogan "black is beautiful" has evolved because black is not "beautiful" but needs to become so if it is to serve as an effective identity racial term.

The evaluative meanings of white and black have been well documented at the young adult level in a series of studies employing the semantic differential. Williams (1964) found that college students, both Caucasian and Negro, gave the color name white a high positive ("good") rating, while black was given a neutral to low negative ("bad") rating. Subsequently, the same findings were obtained in a study by Williams, Morland and Underwood (1970) of college students in Denmark, Germany, India and Hong Kong (Chinese). Williams, Tucker and Durham (1971), in an effort to assess the possible effects of the black identity movement upon color meanings, compared ratings of white and black obtained in 1969 to those obtained in 1963. While there was no change in the ratings of Caucasian students across this time interval, the Negro student's rating of white was found to have moved in a negative direction; however, white was still rated significantly more positive ("good") than black by the 1969 Negro group. Therefore, the positive evaluation of the color name white and the negative evaluation of the color name black have been shown to be trans-racial, trans-cultural phenomena at the young adult level.

The findings of the young adult studies have led to investigations of younger persons in an effort to discover the childhood origins of the "white is positive, black is negative" (W+B-) phenomenon. Williams and McMurtry (1970), who studied 13-year old Caucasian children, demonstrated that the evaluative ratings of white and black at this age level were virtually identical to those of Caucasian college students, indicating that the distinctive color meanings originated much earlier in life.

Two investigations of preschool children have indicated that Caucasian children at the 4-6 year age level already demonstrate the W+B- phenomenon. In the first study, Renninger and Williams (1966) showed preschool children pictures of white and black animals and asked the children which animal was described in an accompanying story. It was found that when the story contained one of four positive evaluative adjectives (e g, "which is the good horse?") the children regularly indicated the white animal, while the black animal was chosen in response to four negative evaluative adjectives (e g, "which is the naughty dog?"). In the second study, Williams and Roberson (1967) extended the procedures of the first study and demonstrated that the W+B-concept was present to a significant degree: 41 % of a group of children with a mean age of 4.5, 71 % of a group aged 5.4, and 89 % of a group aged 6.10. These two studies indicated that the general evaluative meanings of white and black demonstrated among older children and young adults are already demonstrable in the behavior of Caucasian preschool children.

Although little is known concerning the meaning of white and black to preschool Negro children, the available evidence suggests that their evaluative responses may be similar to those of Caucasian children just described. Skinto (1969) used Williams and Roberson's procedure to assess color meanings among Negro and Caucasian first and second grade children and found that both groups showed a significant tendency to respond positively to white and negatively to black, with the tendency being somewhat less pronounced among Negro children. Stabler, Johnson, Berke and Baker (1969), employing a different methodology, have demonstrated that preschool Negro children tend to associate positively evaluated objects with a white box and negatively evaluated objects with a black box. Although not directly dealing with the evaluative meanings of white and black, one can also note the many studies which have indicated that Negro children tend to respond more positively to light skinned than dark skinned human figures (e g, Clark and Clark, 1947, Morland, 1962, Asher and Allen, 1969). There is also evidence (e g, Clark and Clark, 1939, Morland, 1963, 1966) that Negro children tend to identify themselves more often with light skinned than dark skinned human figures, although these findings bear only indirectly on the question of identification with the colors white and black.

Williams and Rousseau (1971), in an investigation assessing the evaluative meanings of the colors, white and black among Negro preschool children (3-6 years old), studied the tendency of these children to identify with black and with white figures. According to Williams and Rousseau, although previous research findings would lead to the expectation that these children would possibly evaluate and identify with white, it can be noted that these children, tested in the Spring of 1970, had grown up during the development of the black identity movement with its emphasis on "black" as a positively evaluated identity term. Williams and Rousseau (1971, p 589) further speculated, "To the degree that these children had been influenced by the black identity movement, they might be expected to have a more positive view of black and be more willing to identify themselves with blackness, than would Negro children of a few years ago."

"The results of the study just described indicated a significant tendency for Negro preschoolers to attach positive evaluation to white and negative evaluation to black. While this finding was obtained at each of the three age levels studied, the analyses also showed that the tendency increased significantly from the youngest to the middle-age group, with an apparent but non-significant decrease from the middle to the oldest group. These findings can be compared with those from the earlier study of Caucasian children (Renninger and Williams, 1966), which indicated a significant increase from the youngest to the middle group, with an apparent but non-significant increase from the middle to the oldest group. Thus, while statistical analyses indicated the same trend in both studies, the data suggested the possibility of a continuing increasing trend among the older Caucasian children and the beginning of a decreasing trend among the older Negro children. If one wishes to accept this somewhat equivocal evidence for a differential trend in the two groups, it seems not unreasonable to speculate that the data may be reflecting the beginning impact of the black-identity movement upon the evaluative responses of the older Negro preschooler." (p 597) Of course, the latter speculation is tenable, however, lacking such knowledge with regard to whether the children had in fact been exposed to the rhetoric of the so-called "black-identity movement". It is interesting to note that Williams and Rousseau appear to assume that the concept "black is beautiful" means black skin is the sole factor attending the latter concept. It is this writer's opinion, both from the position of being a Negro and "social observer at large", that the term "black is beautiful" embraces not only a people but a way of life!

Thus, it could well have been that these children were exposed to the so-called black identity movement and not have "changed" their views about the term black; however, they have more wholesome views about being Negro, which does not mean "black" skin color per se!

Nevertheless, while it was clear that most of them did not positively evaluate the term black, there was some evidence of change in this direction in the 6-year old age range.

Williams and Rousseau's results of the self-identification procedure showed a tendency for most of the children to identify with the white animal and not with the black animal. The pattern of these findings across the age groupings was somewhat like that obtained in the color-meaning findings. The tendency to identify with the white animals was clearly present in the youngest and middle-aged groups and showed an apparent decrease from the middle to the oldest group. While there is no way to assign an apparent cause and effect relationship between these parallel self-identification and color-meaning findings, it seems somewhat more plausible to think that the child may be identifying with the white animal because it is good than to think that the child considers the animal good because of his tendency to identify with it. In any event, it seems clear that the typical Negro preschooler who demonstrated that he knew which figure was black and which was white had no inclination to identify with the black figure. By inference this suggests (according to Williams and Rousseau) that the young Negro child does not think of himself as "black", which has a negative affective meaning for him.

This line of reasoning suggests that caution must be exercised in efforts to teach the young child to use the term black as an identity term. To teach the young child to say, "I am black and it's beautiful to be black", may, at least initially, be teaching him to say, "I am 'bad' and it's 'good' to be 'bad'." Some other identity term (e g, Afro-American or "Afro") which is initially neutral in meaning to the child seems to provide a simpler and more promising starting point for the development of a sound self-concept in the Negro child.

Williams and Rousseau conclude with some very interesting propositions with which I concur, "The fact that there was no correlation between IQ and Color-meaning scores has indirect implications concerning the origin of the Negro child's tendency to view white positively and black negatively. If it is proposed that the child learns the W+B- concept solely as a result of this experience with the symbolic usages of these

terms in the general culture (idiomatic speech, religion, literature, advertising, etc), it would be predicted that the brighter children would demonstrate more "knowledge" of this concept just as they would any other relatively abstract concept to which they would be exposed. The fact that the "duller" children knew the concept as well as the brighter children did seem to cast doubt on the effort to explain the meanings of the colors to the child solely on the basis of cultural learning.

If it is to be proposed that there is some other, more basic, determinant of the color meanings, the evidence regarding the trans-racial and trans-cultural nature of the W+B- phenomenon seems to require that a very general learning experience be postulated. One rather compelling line of speculation is that the differential color meanings may be an elaboration of an aversive response to the darkness of night which is learned very early in life by virtually all young human beings. The young homo sapiens is, after all, a diurnal animal who is unable to cope with his environment under low levels of illumination - a condition which may be as aversive to young humans as it has been shown to be with other diurnal primates (Parker, 1966). When we note that, in addition, the need satisfactions of the young human occur primarily during the daylight hours, it does not seem farfetched to propose that most children may develop a negative reaction to darkness and a positive reaction to light as a result of their earliest learning experiences. These primitive reactions, subsequently reinforced and elaborated by cultural influences, may provide the basis for the W+B- phenomenon observed in the present study and in other studies in this series" (Williams, et al, 1964-1971).

"The foregoing speculations, while implying that the initial learning of the color meanings may be virtually unavoidable in Negro and Caucasian children alike, should not be taken as implying that the meanings are unalterable. To the contrary, it has been shown that the evaluative meanings of colors to preschool children are quite amenable to modification via laboratory learning procedures (Williams and Edwards, 1966). In addition, there is the evidence suggesting that the meanings of these colors to Negro college students have undergone significant changes in recent years, presumably as a result of the black identity movement (Williams, Tucker and Durham, 1971). The main effort of the argument advanced here is that there may be a natural tendency toward the W+B- concept which, if not altered, may influence the preschool

child's early learning concerning race, due to the practice of designating groups of persons by color names white and black. If the color-coding practice were supplemented by a different nomenclature - such as "Afros" for Americans of African descent, and "Euros" for Americans of European descent - there might be less likelihood of the unidirectional evaluative connotations of color names influencing the child's early perceptions of his own and other racial groups." (Ibid.)

Another investigation reported by Farber and Schmeidler (1971) in which Negro and Caucasian 7th graders made line drawings and semantic differential responses to 7 color names, including black and white, found that: Caucasian semantic differential scores were similar to those found earlier by Williams and Rousseau (1971); Negro scores were less similar. As hypothesized by Farber and Schmeidler, Negroes evaluated black (compared to white) more favorably than Caucasians. Caucasians with better reading ability evaluated black less favorably. Negroes drew white with significantly simpler, heavier, more downward lines than did Caucasians and drew black with significantly smaller, lighter, more upward lines. The authors conclude that... "for some groups (nonverbal) line drawings may provide a more appropriate measure of attitude than verbal responses... Negroes are becoming both more favorable to black and less favorable to white."

Gordon Allport adroitly sums up the issue of connotations and implications of color names in his book, The Nature of Prejudice, 1954, pp 177-178, by noting, "But of all these 'physiognomic' handicaps the reference to color, clearly implied in certain symbols, is the greatest. The word Negro comes from the Latin niger, meaning black. In point of fact, no Negro has a black complexion, but by comparison with blonder stocks, he has come to be known as a "black man". Unfortunately black in the English language is a word having a preponderance of sinister connotations: the outlook is black, blackball, blackguard, blackhearted, blackdeath, blacklist, blackmail, blackhand. In his novel Moby Dick, Herman Melville considers at length the remarkably morbid connotations of black and the remarkably virtuous connotations of white.

There is an implied value judgment in the very concept of white race and black race. One might also study the numerous unpleasant connotations of yellow and their possible bearing on our conception of people of the Orient.

Such reasoning should not be carried to far, since there are undoubtedly, in various contexts, pleasant associations with both black and yellow. Black valet is agreeable, so too are chocolate and coffee. Yellow tulips are well liked; the sun and moon are radiantly yellow. Yet it is true that "color" words are used with chauvinistic overtones more than most people realize."

"... Members of minority groups are often understandably sensitive to names given them. Not only do they object to deliberately insulting epithets, but sometimes see evil intent where none exists." (Allport,1954)

Now let us sum up the literature and discuss the direction of this study.

2.4 Direction of this Study

Thus far in this chapter I have discussed: (1) research documenting the ability of young children to identify their skin color and the magnitude of misidentification of skin color among young children; (2) research denoting skin color preferences and awareness of the social implications/consequences of skin color among young children; and (3) research concerned with connotations and implications of color names.

The literature discussed is, indeed, divergent (e g, compare Clark and Clark, 1939,with Kircher and Furby, 1972). In some cases the literature has provided conflicting results (e g, compare Clark and Clark, 1939, 1939a, 1940, 1947, Horowitz, 1939 and Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968). In my opinion, much of the divergency and conflict in results obtained in earlier work has in part been, "inadvertantly induced" by somewhat "pedestrian", if not then, "inherently problematical operational definitions of skin color", which of course, ultimately determined how subjects' skin color was rated, and in turn determined what was to be construed as skin color identification/misidentification, and preference.

It appears that most, if not nearly all earlier investigators designed procedures for rating their subjects' actual skin color and scoring their subjects' responses according to color names associated with, and/or commonly used to identify racial and ethnic groups.[1] For example:

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[1]The practice of using color names to identify racial and ethnic groups has been identified as an inexorable component in the social fabric of societies were institutional racism exists, such as in America, South Africa, and Rhodesia (van den Berghe, 1967).

Of course, the practice of using color names to identify racial and

(1) Caucasian subjects have been identified, and were expected to identify themselves as "white skin". The term, "white skin" had often been used interchangeably with the term, "light skin".

(2) Negro subjects have been identified, and were expected to identify themselves as "black" and/or "brown" skin, or some degree of saturation of the latter two hues. The terms, "black" and "brown" have been often used interchangebly with the term "dark skin".

(3) Mongoloids, particularly Orientals have been identified and probably would have been expected to identify themselves as "yellow skin".[2]

(4) Others are generally identified as some degree of saturation of "yellow" or "brown" for example, some Filipinos could be considered some shade of "yellow" while others could be considered some shade of "brown". Curiously, American Indians were and in some instances are still considered as "red skin". So far as I know, American Indians are the only "group" identified as possessing "red skin".

The use of the color names as delineated above presents some complex problems. First, the color names used in reference to some racial and ethnic groups are largely, if not entirely inaccurate (or misleading) because the spectrum of skin pigmentation in some racial and ethnic groups vary to such an extent in both hue and saturation that, a single

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ethnic groups is not limited to individuals in societies were institutional racism exists. However, in societies such as Norway, Denmark and Sweden (were instituional racism does not exist) the use of color names to identify racial and ethnic groups is not the "primary" or "quasi-official" mode of expression used in reference to racial and ethnic groups (indeed, at the individual level there are undoubtedly many instances where color names are used to identify racial and ethnic groups, however, such instances by no means reflect the given society at large, but rather the given individuals making such references).

[2]Mongoloids, (e g, Orientals) and Others, (e g, American Indians, Mexicans, Filipinos etc) have not been subjects of research reported on the topic of skin color identification/misidentification and preference. However, in America where reported research has taken place (save this author's work) in the area of skin color identification and preference, it is in my opinion reasonable to postulated that Mongoloids and Others would have been identified and would have been expected to identify themselves according to the color names commonly associated with, and used to identify their respective groups. The latter postulation is tendered in view of the fact that since color names were used to identify Caucasian and Negro subjects, and "color names" existed for Mongoloids and Others - color names would then almost of necessity be used for the latter in the context of skin color identification and preference.

color name, even if reasonably discriptive of some members of a given group, would, indeed, not be sufficiently descriptive of others in that given group. For example, let us take a look at the pictures below.

It is obviously clear that the pigmentation of the Negro children shown above is at such variance in both hue, and saturation, that the color names "brown" and "black" which are commonly used to identify Negroes, would by no means be sufficient to describe all of the children . The color name brown could be descriptive of some of the children, however, the color name black would not be descriptive of any of the children.

Let us take another dimension of the problem of using color names to identify racial and ethnic groups. Note the pictures shown just below.

The children shown above are members from different racial and ethnic groups respectively identified as follows: (1) Caucasian ("white"); (2) Mongoloid ("yellow"); (3) Negroid ("brown or black"); (4) Other ("red"); and (5) Other ("brown"). A careful inspection of the pictures just shown would lead any reasonable person to conclude that all the children possess very similar skin pigmentation in terms of both hue and saturation. However, the color names commonly used in America to identify the children's respective racial or ethnic group membership,

(i e, their skin color) indeed, would preclude their skin pigmentation from being rated as approximately "alike" in hue and/or saturation.

The two dimensions of the problem with the use of color names for racial and ethnic group identification as delineated raises some critical theoretical and methodological questions. For example. Should members of different racial and ethnic groups whose skin pigmentation may be "alike" or very similar in hue and saturation be recluded from being rated accordingly because different color names are used to identify their respective groups? Should one color name be used as a generic description of racial and ethnic groups? Should generic descriptions be used at all? Are there any serious limitations with the use of color names for generic descriptive purposes?

Although the literature does provide some evidence of concern with the use of color names which are used to identify racial and ethnic groups, the concern has been limited to social implications and consequences vis-a-vis the use of color names (see for example, Renninger and Williams, 1966; Williams, Morland and Underwood, 1970; Williams and Rousseau, 1971; and Williams, Tucker and Durham, 1971, supra).

The literature, does not, however, deal explicitly with the implicit theoretical and methodological problems which I allege are inherent in the generic use of color names to specifically rate the hue and/or degree of saturation of human skin pigmentation per se, and as a basis for determining skin color identification/misidentification and preference.

The study reported here, for the first time explicitly addresses the problem which I have delineated concerning the use of color names with respect to the critical theoretical and methodological questions inherent therein.

In my opinion, another serious limitation in earlier research design in the area of skin color identification and preference, has been the "failure" to include Mongoloids and Others as subjects. Further, as far as I have been able to determine, research thus far has been limited to America and social conditions in America.

Indeed, there is not any empirical evidence reported that Negro and Caucasian children in America are the only children subject to, and

which experience "problems" regarding how they identify/misidentify their skin color, and regarding what skin color they prefer. Moreover, conditions in America (institutionalized racism) may not be a "unique factor" related or "causal" in determining how young children identify their skin color and the skin color(s) they demonstrate a preference for.

The two proceeding observations raises some fairly obvious questions. How might Mongoloids and Others identify their skin color? What are the skin color preferences of Mongoloids and Others? How might data obtained from Mongoloids and Others regarding skin color identification/misidentification and preference compare with data obtained from Caucasians and Negroes? Are there any significant differences between children residing and attending school in America, and children residing and attending school in another society with respect to skin color identification/misidentification and preference? The study reported here, for the first time explores the questions just mentioned.

It is thus manifest that the purpose of this study is derived from both my own personal scholarly interests and from certain implicit theoretical and methodological issues and problems I have identified as characteristic of earlier research.

Chapter One, pp 3-10, has dealt with the definitions of terms. Chapter Three, pp 64-92 describes the method, instruments used here, and the pertinent and critical theoretical and procedural differences between this study and earlier work. Throughout Chapter Five, the theoretical and methodological questions raised at this juncture are explicitly and implicitly addressed. The next Chapter, presents and discusses who was studied, how and where they were studied.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

3.1 Selection of Subjects

The rationale behind the criterion for selecting the subjects of this study was multi-faceted.

First, as I have pointed out in the conclusion of the preceeding chapter, research on the topic of skin color identification and preference has in the main focused upon very young American Caucasian and Negro children (through 7 years of age) and social conditions in America.

Secondly, the issue of skin color identification and preference has not (to the best of my knowledge) been investigated in other societies wherein individuals possessing significantly different skin color have relatively "frequent" face-to-face contact and/or interaction.

Thirdly, (and obviously) my examination of the literature failed to surface cross-cultural comparative studies exploring skin color identification and preference.

Consequently, the criterion for selecting subjects for this study were:

(1) One group of children should consist of American children among which there should be members of the Caucasian, Mongoloid, Negroid and other racial groups, and another group consisting of non-American children and to what ever extent possible comprised of individuals belonging to the four racial groups.

(2) Members of both groups should have had more than occasional face-to-face contact and/or social interaction with light, medium and dark skin individuals in their respective communities.

(3) Both groups should be comprised of boys and girls, 7 through 12 years old, and among them there should be light, medium and dark skin individuals.

(4) All the children should speak languages which the instrument to be used (CCT) could be translated into with minimum difficulty.

Selection of European Group The European group was finally selected on the basis of the criterion mentioned above in addition to the circumstances described below.

At the time I was preparing to obtain permission to gather data to the best of my knowledge there were five cities in Sweden with communities which might satisfy criterion for selecting subjects. The cities were, Göteborg, Lund, Stockholm, Uppsala and Västerås. My spouse and I had resided in Västerås for two years, and in Stockholm for three years (at the time data reported here were gathered we were residents of Stockholm). My spouse taught school in the neighborhood in Västerås in which I desired to gather data, and was at the time, teaching in the neighborhood in Stockholm in which I was also interested in obtaining data. Additionally because I hadpreviously gathered data from the neighborhoods in question (in Västerås, Vallby-Petersberg area, and in Stockholm, Rinkeby-Tensta area) I was fairly well known and trusted. The latter combination of factors permitted me to have very intimate knowledge of, and potentially easy access to the schools in the respective areas. I requested and was granted permission to gather data in both of the areas in question.

Unfortunately, all of the Oriental and most of the Negroid children in the areas in both Västerås, and Stockholm where I gathered data were too young to participate in the study (under 7 years old).

The European group was thus selected by "direct sampling" (Good, 1945, p 354). That is a measure of control was exercised in selection of subjects to ensure representation of the desired age, sex and skin color groups. It should be noted, that children were not excluded in the process of selection, but rather the group was increased in size until it appeared that the desired age, sex and skin color categories were included.

Selection of American Group Selection of the children in the American group was simple as a result of two major factors.

First, when I was preparing to gather data from the American community in question I was teaching and supervising teacher candidates in one of the local universities. Thus I had both good knowledge of, and immediate access to the schools.

Secondly, all of the schools from which I desired to select subjects had almost an equal number of children who were members of the four

racial groups. Indeed, this was a unique condition. The reason why this condition existed was that the local school district was ordered to "desegregate" its schools which meant that the pupil population (and to what extent possibly each class) in every school should reflect the same racial and ethnic ratio as existed in the city at large.

Consequently, since I was assured of meeting criterion for selecting subjects (age, sex and skin color groupings) it was only necessary to select a sufficient number of classes until a group comparable in size to that of the European group was reached.

Tables 3.1 provide descriptive data concerning the age, sex, and skin color distributions in the two groups.

TABLE 3.1 AMERICAN GROUP: AGE/SEX

Age	7		8		9		10		11		12			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Sex														
Girls	15	40,5	20	62,5	37	60,6	21	41,2	14	29,8	5	83,3	N=124	47,9 %
Boys	22	59,5	12	37,5	24	39,4	30	58,8	33	70,2	1	16,7	N=135	52,1 %
Totals	37		32		61		51		47		6		N=259	100,0 %

TABLE 3.2 EUROPEAN GROUP: AGE/SEX

Age	7		8		9		10		11		12			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Sex														
Girls	27	43,5	9	52,9	22	45,8	19	61,3	12	42,9	21	50,0	N=110	48,3 %
Boys	35	56,5	8	47,1	26	54,2	12	38,7	16	57,1	21	50,0	N=118	51,7 %
Totals	62		17		48		31		28		42		N=228	100,0 %

TABLE 3.3 AMERICAN GROUP: AGE/SKIN COLOR

Color	Light		Medium		Dark		
Age	N	%	N	%	N	%	
7	21	13,5	10	14,5	6	17,1	
8	18	11,6	10	14,5	4	11,4	
9	34	21,9	19	27,5	8	22,9	
10	35	22,6	7	10,1	9	25,7	
11	27	17,4	12	17,4	8	22,9	
12	5	3,2	1	1,5	-	-	
	155 = 60 %		69 = 27 %		35 =13 %		N = 259;100 %

TABLE 3.4 EUROPEAN GROUP: AGE/SKIN COLOR

Color	Light		Medium		Dark		
Age	N	%	N	%	N	%	
7	54	87,1	8	12,9	-		
8	14	82,3	3	17,7	-		
9	40	83,3	8	16,7	-		
10	24	77,4	7	22,6	-		
11	21	75	6	21,4	1	3,6	
12	28	66,7	12	28,6	2	4,7	
	181 = 80 %		44 = 19 %		3 = 1 %		N = 228;100 %

TABLE 3.5 AMERICAN GROUP: ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic Group	N = 259
Samoan	1
Oriental/Spanish	1
Balanese	2
Caucasian	64
American Indian/Chinese	1
Korean/Chinese	1
Negro	66
Chinese	70
Japanese	6
Filipino	13
Filipino/Chinese	1
Filipino/Spanish	2
Spanish	51
13 Ethnic Groups	259

TABLE 3.6 EUROPEAN GROUP: NATIONALITY & ETHNIC GROUP

Ethnic or National Group	N = 228
Austrian	1
Danish	1
Dutch	1
Egyptian	2
Finnish	26
German	1
Ghanaian	1
Greek	3
Indian (Asian)	1
Italian	2
Jugoslavian	2
Libian	2
Moroccan	1
Polish	4
Portugese	1
Swedish	127
Syrian	1
Czechoslovakian	3
Turkish	45
Ugandan	2
Gypsy	1
21 National or Ethnic Groups	228

3.2 The Settings

Europe Seven of the twelve school settings used in this study were located in Sweden: three in Stockholm, and four in Västerås. All of the schools used in Sweden were situated in residential areas mainly consisting of large, modern low cost apartments (in Stockholm, the Rinkeby-Tensta area, and in Västerås, the Vallby-Petersberg area). The residential areas in question were inhabited by a relatively high percentage of foreigners. In the Rinkeby-Tensta area about 10 % of the population was foreign, and in the Vallby-Petersberg area about 12 % of the populations was foreign. The latter figures are relatively high when compared to the fact that around 8 % of the total population in Sweden is foreign born. Table 3.7 below shows a rough breakdown of the foreign population in Sweden in relation to the number of foreigners in the areas where data were gathered.

As a result of the rather large foreign populations in the areas mentioned above, the school populations consisted of a high percentage of children from families that did not have a thorough command of the Swedish language. Consequently, many of the foreigners in the two areas were employed in low or unskilled positions, thus lower-middle to low income group members. Most of the Swedish families in the two areas were middle to upper-lower income group members. I should note, by no means were the areas in question considered as ghettos and/or slums in the American context, nor was there any deliberate effort on the part of the Swedish housing authorities which administered these areas to "segregate" or "segment" individuals and families on the basis of race, nationality or income. The latter practice has been for some time and is at present absolutely forbidden by Swedish law (and also largely by custom).

The only differences between the schools attending the subjects of this study and Swedish schools in general were the relatively high percentage of foreign children in attendance, various substantive and procedural adjustments to accomodate non-Swedish speaking and bilingual children.

TABLE 3.7 COMPARISON OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC BREAKDOWNS OF PUPULATIONS IN LOCALES WHERE DATA WERE GATHERED

American Locale[1]		European Locales[2]	
White	33,7 %	Stockholm	
Black	29,0 %	Swedish	95,0 %
Spanish surname	12,0 %	Foreign	5,0 %
Asian	17,7 %	Västerås	
Other non-white	7,6 %	Swedish	88,0 %
		Foreign	12,0 %
		Sweden	
		Swedish	92,0 %
		Foreign	8,0 %

[1]The figures given here are based on estimates made by local school district personnel. The descriptive terms, "black", "white", etc are the official terminology used by the locale in question.

[2]The figures submitted here are estimated made by the Swedish Immigration Service, and are based on the 1972-73 census years.

America None of the pupil populations in the five schools where data were gathered in America reflected the income level(s), racial and/or ethnic composition of the neighborhoods in which the schools were located. The pupil populations of these schools did, however, reflect the racial and ethnic group composition of the city in which the schools were located (Table 3.7 shows a breakdown of the racial and ethnic composition of the city in question according to official figures).

The reason for the racial and ethnic ratio in the schools being the same as in the city at large was the direct result of the school district's efforts to comply with court order public school desegregation (the city in question is located in the western part of the United States). The school desegregation required children from all sections of the city to be bussed to various parts of the city to achieve so-called racial and ethnic "balance" in the schools. Therefore, the pupil population in the five American school settings were multi-ethnic, multi-racial and from low to high income families.

3.3 Description of Instruments

The Clark Coloring Test Revised

The Clark Coloring Test Revised was used to obtain measures of children's identification/mis-identification of their skin color and their skin color preferences because: it is brief and simple; its administration requires no special training; it can be administered individually and to relatively large groups; and it is "culture free". (The latter refers to the fact that the test items are not bound to any particular culture(s) as such.)

Below are instructions for administering both the original and revised versions of the Clark Coloring Test (illustrations for the revised test are also provided). A discussion of the significant differences between the two versions of the test will supervene the illustrations and descriptions.

Instructions for Administration of Clark Coloring Test (original)

1. The child is provided with a box of twenty-four crayons including black, white, yellow, pink, tan, brown and the rest of the normal color assortment.
2. The stability of the child's concept of the relationship between color and object is determined by asking him to color the first four objects depicted "...the color that (item 1) a/an apple, (item 2) orange, (item 3) leaf, (item 4) mouse is."
3. If the child passes (appropriately colors all the first four objects) the above portion of the test, he is then asked (item 5) to "color this little boy (girl) the color that you are" (identification), and subsequently (item 6) to color "the little girl (boy) the color that you like little girls (boys) to be" (preference).
   (Item 5 is an outline drawing of person of the same sex as the S, item 6 is an outline drawing of a person of the opposite sex of the S.)
4. The test administrator performs certain "experimental" procedures to provoke verbal remarks from the S regarding his/her responses. (Clark and Clark (1974) do not provide information concerning what experimental procedures were used to elicit verbal remarks from the Ss during the test administration.)

5. The test administrator records the S's remarks by hand written notes.
6. The tests were administered in a one-to-one situation in all instances. Illustrations of the test items as depicted in the original version of the Clark Coloring Test were not reported by Clark and Clark (1974), or French (1969), therefore, they are not available here.

Instructions for Administration of Clark Coloring Test (revised)

1. Before the activity begins please indicate on the front of the respective children's papers their: 1) age, 2) sex, 3) race, (and ethnic group membership, if known) and 4) their skin color (light, medium or dark).
2. Directions to the children: Girls and boys we are going to do a coloring activity. This is a special activity because you will be asked to color in some drawings in a certain order. This means that each one of you must listen very carefully and do exactly what you are asked to do. Please do not begin coloring any drawing until you are told to begin. You must also stop coloring when you are asked to stop. Once the activity has started all talking must stop and no one will be allowed to help you with your coloring. I shall try to make certain that everyone understands what each drawing is and what they are to do. (Pass out the activity papers and the crayons to the children).
3. Drawing number one is an apple, please color it in.
4. Drawing number two is an orange, please color it in.
5. Drawing number three is a leaf, please color it in.
6. Drawing number four is a mouse, please color it in.
7. Drawing number five is a boy, please color the boy the same skin color that you are.
8. Drawing number six is a girl, please color the girl the same skin color that you are.
9. Turn to the next page.
10. Drawing number seven is a girl, please color the girl the skin color you like girls to be.

11. Drawing number eight is a boy, please color the boy the skin color you like boys to be.

12. Drawing number nine is a girl, please color the girl the skin color you do not like girls to be.

13. Drawing number ten is a boy, please color the boy the skin color you do not like boys to be.

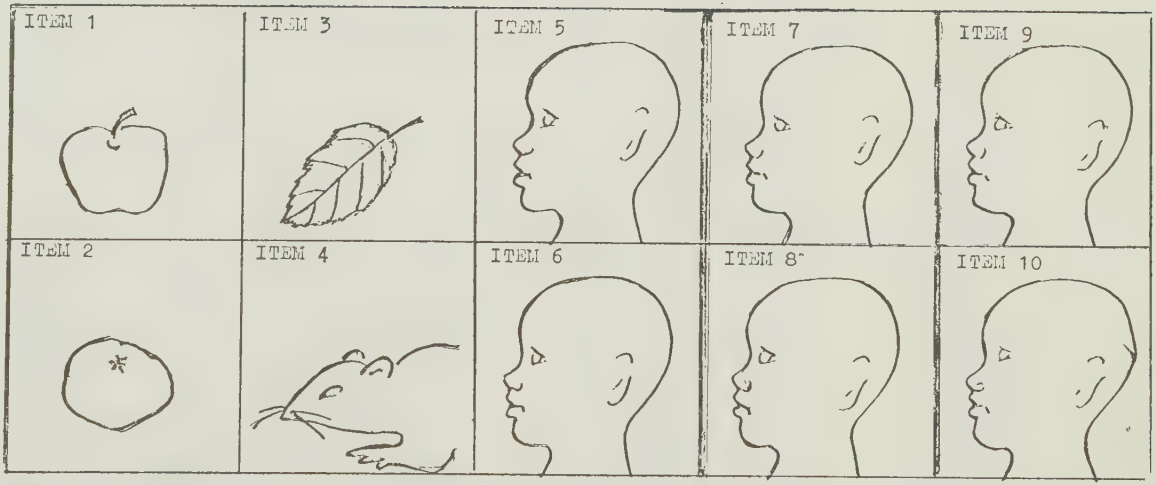
14. Please put all the crayons back into the box, close the box. (Collect the papers and crayons and personally deliver them to the school office).

Items: As shown on page 48 the Clark Coloring Test in its original form consists of one plain sheet of white paper, 12 1/2 x 7 7/8" (32x20 centimeters) on which appear six outline drawings: (1) a leaf; (2) an apple; (3) an orange; (4) a mouse; (5) a girl/boy; (6) a boy/girl. With regard to items five and six, when the test was administered to girls, item five would be an outline drawing of a girl, and item six would be an outline drawing of a boy. When the test was administered to boys, item five would be an outline drawing of a boy and item six an outline drawing of a girl.

The Clark Coloring Test Revised consists of three sheets of plain white paper 11 1/2 x 8 1/2" (29x21 centimeters). The first sheet contains six outline drawings: (1) a leaf; (2) an apple; (3) an orange; (4) a mouse; (5) a girl; (6) a boy. The second and third sheets contain two outline drawings, one of a girl and one of a boy respectively. The outline drawings of the girl and boy respectively are identical with the exception of the drawings of the girl and boy on the first sheet being approximately one half the size of the drawings of the boy and girl on the second and third sheets. All children regardless of sex receive the same kind and number of drawings (four objects, three girls and three boys).

The difference in the size of the sheets of paper used was due to the original version being printed in America and on standard size paper (8 1/2 x 11") and the revised version being printed in Sweden and on standard size paper (A 4). The difference in the size of the paper was totally insignificant.

Clark Coloring Test Revised[1]



This page is to be completed by test administrator and/or by classroom teacher

AGE _____ SEX _____

RACE Caucasian _____ Negroid _____ Oriental ____ Other (specify) _____

SKIN COLOR Light _____ Medium _____ Dark _____

[1]The original drawings for the Clark Coloring Test are not available. The drawings shown here were made by a Finnish artist whom the author commissioned in Stockholm, Sweden, 1972.

The difference in the number of sheets of paper in the first instance was due to the revised version having four more items than the original version, thus requiring more space.

In the second instance, since the children would be requested to color the first outline drawings of the boy and girl "the color" they are (identification/misidentification); then, color the second outline drawings of the boy and girl "the color" they like boys and girls to be (preference); and finally, color the third drawings of the boy and girl "the color" they do not like boys and girls to be (do not prefer), it was thought that in order to prevent, or at least reduce, the probability of confusion about what they were being asked to do, and repetitive responses, items 5 and 6, 7 and 8, and 9 and 10 should be respectively placed on different sheets of paper.

The difference in the presentation and number of items derive from fundamental differences between Clark and Clark (1947) objectives, theoretical and methodological positions and those here.

With respect to objectives, Clark and Clark (1947, pp 341-342) state "The specific problem of this (their) study is a further analysis of the dynamics of racial attitudes in Negro children. This (their) paper presents results from one of several techniques devised and used by the authors to investigate the development of racial identification and preference in Negro children. Results presented here (their) are from the Coloring Test and from spontaneous remarks of the children as they responded to other experimental techniques."

The purpose of this investigation was to determine and compare the relationship between age, sex, skin color, identification and misidentification of skin color, and skin color preference among and between children 7 through 12 years old in the United States and Sweden.

Clark and Clark's version of the Coloring Test was designed to ascertain how Negro girls and boys identified their skin color when shown and asked to color an outline drawing of the same sex.

Here, the Test was revised to ascertain how children regardless of their racial, ethnic or national group membership identified or misidentified their skin color when shown outline drawings of both sexes. The reason for asking the children to color drawings of both sexes was an attempt to determine how stable or unstable their perception of

their skin color was. That is, if a child correctly identified their skin color when shown and asked to color drawings of both sexes, then the child was considered to have a stable perception of his/her skin color. On the other hand, if a child misidentified one or both of the first outline drawings of the boy and girl, then the child was considered not to have a stable perception of their skin color.

In other words, if a child has a stable perception of their own skin color, then it is highly probable the child will correctly identify their skin color when shown and asked to color outline drawings of their own and the opposite sex the same color they are. The procedure used here was found to be a far more reliable means of determining children's ability to correctly identify their skin color than Clark and Clark's version when both editions of the Coloring Test were tried out during pre-trials in Europe and the United States by this author and associates.

Moreover, the revised procedure could determine the direction of a child's misidentification of their skin color. For example, children either misidentified their skin color by using colors not within the spectrum of human skin pigmentation (i e, incorrect and unrealistic color) or, still in other cases they responded in such ways that the response could only be assumed to be irrelevant.

Clark and Clark (1947) and French (1969) obtained their subjects' skin color preferences by showing them one outline drawing of the opposite sex and asking them "Now this is a little girl (or boy). Color her (or him) the color you like little girls (or boys) to be." Clark and Clark (1947) and French (1969) offer no theoretical and/or methodological explanation(s) for the latter procedure. In my opinion, it is highly probable these investigators believed that one item was sufficient to establish color preference on the basis of their pre-trial results, if not, then on the basis of the results in their studies per se. With regard to the one item being an outline drawing of the opposite sex, I am in want of a scientific reason upon which to conjecture.

In this study one objective was to determine the relationship between the sex and color of the respondent and their color preference of others according to sex. Additionally, even though a child might indicate what skin color they preferred, by no means could we determine what skin

color(s) they might not prefer solely on the basis of what they suggest they preferred, (e g, if a child prefers a light color, what color might he not prefer?).

Consequently, the Coloring Test was revised to attain the latter objective, and resolve the latter problem. To do this, the children were given the opportunity to indicate both the color they did, and did not prefer for both girls and boys, thus, the four additional drawings in the revised version of the Coloring Test became necessary.

Administration: The procedure for administering the original and revised versions of the Clark Coloring Test have already been presented. Therefore, at this juncture, I will discuss the significant differences in administering the instruments and the attending rationale.

The first modification was made to accommodate testing more than one child at a time. This change was very simple. Instead of one to one testing (administrator and respondent) one administrator tested children in groups as large as the space where the testing took place would permit. Because all of the testing was done in school classrooms the largest group of children that could be tested at any given time numbered around thirty. Of course, smaller groups were tested, in some cases because of a child's language or a child having been absent, testing sometimes occurred in one to one situations. In brief, the procedure was modified to accommodate testing one up to approximately thirty children in one setting. This change was made primarily in the name of economy because of the large number of children studied.

The second major change in procedure was the use of a tape recorder to obtain the childrens' spontaneous remarks during the testing. The purpose for using a tape recorder was to insure complete reception and absolute accuracy of what the children said during the testing.

The third revision was to have the test administrators not make any comments or perform any tasks which might provoke or prompt the children to make remarks during the testing. In other words, the childrens' spontaneous remarks were to be unsolicited. The reason for this change was to eliminate any bias or suggestions implied by a test administrator's remarks with regard to how the children should respond to the test items and/or what the children should comment about during the testing.

The second and third revisions were implemented as follows. A small high quality cassette tape recorder was placed in the testing site in a position which would insure full reception of the childrens' voices. Usually, this meant placing the recorder in full view of the children. The test administrators did not provoke, prompt or make any comments regarding the tape recorder. However, in cases where the children commented or made inquiries about the presence of the tape recorder, they were told by the test administrator (in a very neutral or "dry tone" of voice)."The recorder is being used to record what is taking place in this room today." The latter was done chiefly to give as little attention as possible to the presence of the tape recorder.

The other test administrators and I found that when using the tape recorder to obtain the childrens' unsolicited spontaneous remarks when administering the test in its original and revised versions, children usually appeared to "forget" the tape recorder once they began coloring the items on the test sheet(s). Frequently, at the end of testing situations children would remark, "... oh, I forgot the tape recorder (or that thing) was on", etc.

My associates and I found it extremely difficult to hand record childrens' remarks administering the test in its original form and next to impossible in its revised version.

The final significant procedural revision was to permit all the children being tested to complete the entire test, even in cases when children demonstrated an unstable relationship between object and color, i e, failed the control section of the test. This change was made because testing the children in large groups eliminated the test administrators direct observation of each respondent's test sheets during the entire testing session. Moreover, the latter was simply logistically impossible to do within a reasonable period of time. Further, eliminating some children to become concerned and raise questions about their peers, not to mention the matter of what to do with those children who might be eliminated.

Scoring: The scoring of the original and revised versions of the Coloring Test is radically different. The childrens' responses on the original form were "presumably" subjectively rated and then placed in one of three categories, (1) reality, (2) fantasy, or (3) irrelevant. I say "presumably subjective" because Clark and Clark (1947) and French (1969) provide no evidence, explicitly or implicitly of any objective means for scor-

ing their subjects' responses.

Nevertheless, in both versions of the Coloring Test the predicted response categories were the same (reality, fantasy and irrelevant). However, the tests differed regarding what types of responses would be categorized and scored as "reality". For example, in the original version of the test used by Clark and Clark (1947) and French (1969) the colors tan, brown, and black were considered as reality based responses when used by the children. Of course, if a dark skinned child used the color white to identify his/her skin color the response was considered as fantasy regardless of the fact that the child used a "realistic color" when responding.Since the color spectrum the children had available to them included red, orange and pink, it is quite reasonable to assume that some children may have attempted to use these colors to approximate a given human skin pigmentation. Thus, how might such responses be recorded by Clark and Clark and French? None of the latter investigators mentioned such a probability. They do, however, imply that such responses would be categorized as fantasy (Clark and Clark, 1947, p 342 and French, 1969, pp 34-35).

Some examples of the three response categories as used in this study are provided below:

EXAMPLES OF RESPONSES IN THREE RESPONSE CATEGORIES

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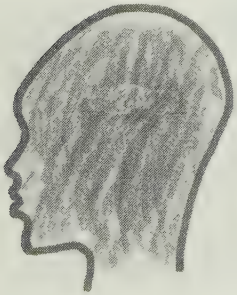
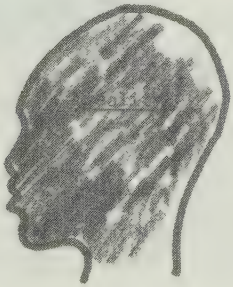
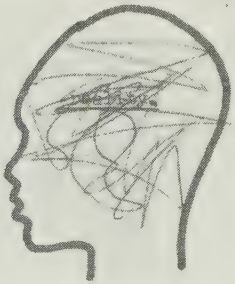
reality	fantasy	irrelevant
		
Brown color	Red and Black color	Not clear what is meant

Indeed, the problems just delineated above occurred when I attempted to revise the scoring methods for the coloring test as used in this study. The problems were resolved as follows: First, I consulted a number of physical anthropologists, dermatologists, artists (portrait painters) and children regarding what colors could reasonably be interpreted as realistic approximations of human skin pigmentation(s) made by children ranging in age from six through twelve years old, given the box of Binney & Smith Crayola Crayons containing twelve colors which was to be, and was used in this study. The results of my survey of opinions are by no means tendered as absolute or all inclusive. The results do, however, provide a somewhat less arbitrary and less controvertable basis for categorizing and scoring the childrens' responses. Moreover, the results of my survey motivated the development of a scoring key, which was used to "objectify" the scoring of the childrens' responses to the three outline drawings of the boy and three outline drawings of the girl (items five through ten) on the revised version of the Coloring Test.

The actual scoring procedures can best be illustrated by reviewing the scoring key provided below.

SCORING KEY FOR COLORING TEST CONTROL SECTION[1]

Color	Apple	Orange	Leaf	Mouse
white				X
yellow	X		X	
orange		X	X	
orange-red		X	X	
red	X		X	
yellow-green	X		X	
green	X		X	
blue				
violet-blue				
violet				
brown			X	X
black				X
Possible appropriate responses	4	2	6	3 = 15
Possible erroneous responses	8	10	6	9 = 33

[1]The Score Chart For Color Test Control Section was used to score Test items 1 through 4.

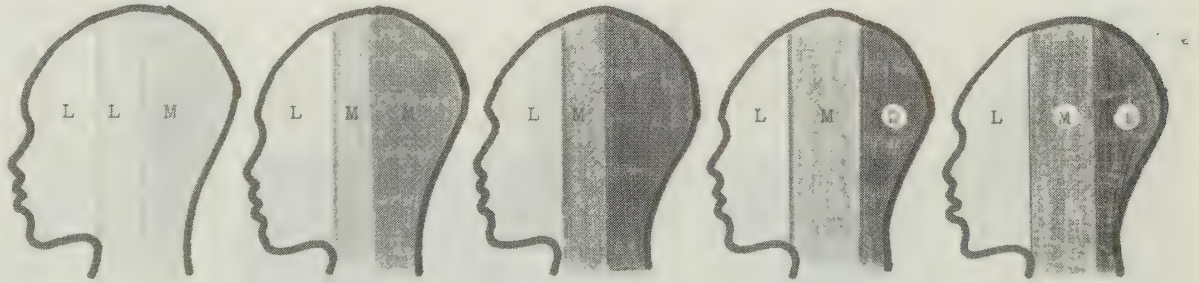
SCORING KEY FOR COLORING TEST SKIN COLOR IDENTIFICATION/PREFERENCE[1]

Legend

L = light zone

M = medium zone

D = dark zone



Scoring procedure

S's responses matched with color zones above and scored accordingly: light; medium; or dark. S's responses where inappropriate colors are used are disregarded (inappropriate colors are any colors, (with the exception of white) not shown above.

[1]The Hughes Skin Color Scale was used to score Test items 5 through 10.

Validity and Reliability: Clark himself provides no data concerning the validity and reliability of the Coloring Test and the author (with the exception of himself) has been able to find only one use of this instrument by investigators other than Clark, and French (1969). It should be noted, however, that: (1) the test itself with its simple instructions and "built-in" control section has high "face validity", and (2) that the results which Clark and Clark (1940), French (1969) and Hughes (1972) obtained in using the Coloring Test reflect and support those obtained by Clark (1940a), Ammons (1950), Stevenson and Stewart (1958) and others' use of the better known Dolls Test and its variants. For example, see: Clark and Clark (1939); Clark and Clark (1940); Landreth and Johnson (1953); Williams and Rousseau (1971).

3.4 Procedures

European Group: First, it was necessary to translate the Coloring Test for use in Sweden. Once the test was translated into Swedish, it was decided to conduct a pre-trial of the original and revised version of the Coloring Test in its translated form to establish the accuracy and appropriateness of the translation, and suitability of testing procedures.

Consequently, a desirable group of children and setting was located in Västerås, Sweden. Permission was requested and granted to have the Tests administered to the children by their regular classroom teachers in the schools they attended under the general supervision of my spouse who is a Swedish national, an experienced teacher, and fluent in the Swedish language.

Eleven institutions participated in the pre-trial, 5 nursery schools (Daghem), 4 pre-schools (förskolor) and 2 recreation schools (Fritidshem). One hundred and ninety-two children were tested in a one-week period during the month of March 1972.

The results of the pre-trial revealed: (1) that, there were no significant problems or difficulties in planning and implementing the testing procedures; (2) the translation was accurate and appropriate for children ranging in age from five through twelve years old; (3) the original version of the Coloring Test, although understood by the children, was not deemed by me adequate for the purpose and design of the study reported here (see description of instruments); (4) the revised

version of the Coloring Test was far more adequate and consistent with the purpose and design of this study; (5) that it was highly probable that the Test would have to be translated to languages indigenous to their national or ethnic group better than they would Swedish; (6) the Test should be administered to children under nine years of age in groups not larger than six to eight individuals because even though the testing session was relatively brief, children under nine in a large group appeared more restless than those above nine.

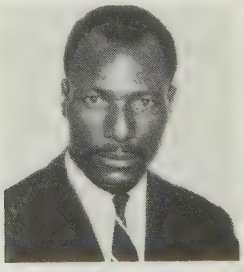
The research design was then prepared in accordance with the pre-trial results as follows:

Step 1.1 Two areas were located, (a) Vallby-Petersberg, in Västerås, and, (b) Rinkeby-Tensta, in Stockholm. A total of 243 children were selected from seven schools (3 in Västerås and 4 in Stockholm).

The investigator requested and received permission from the respective head-teachers, and the childrens' parents to have the Clark Coloring Test Revised administered to the children by their regular teachers during non-academic periods in their classrooms during the school day.

Step 1.2 The individuals administering the Color Tests rated the children's actual skin pigmentation according to the following instructions. They were told that the skin pigmentation commonly possessed by most Caucasians (pinkish-white) should be rated light and that any skin pigmentation which came reasonably close to it should be rated likewise (light) regardless of the individual's racial or ethnic group membership.

Ratings of dark skin pigmentation were based upon my own pigmentation. That is the testers were informed that my skin pigmentation (dark brown) which is possessed by most Negroids would be the standard for rating children as dark skin, thus any skin pigmentation which was similar to or reasonably like mine should be rated dark.



Medium skin ratings were obtained by instructing the testers that medium skin color would range from a "pinkish-yellow" to a "pinkish-tan", in effect the criterion was the "mid-point" between my skin color (dark brown) and the skin pigmentation which is possessed by most Caucasians (pinkish-white).

The testers in Europe experienced no difficulties whatsoever in rating the children's skin pigmentation chiefly because, almost all the children (181) were clearly light skin, and 3 children were clearly dark skin (Negroids who were dark brown), the rest obviously fell "neatly" between the latter two.

There were, however, some problems in rating the American children, particularly Orientals. For example, it was difficult to come to a decision in many instances where to draw the boundaries between light and medium skin. To resolve the latter mentioned problem, I simply asked myself, "is this child as 'light' as most Caucasians, or is this child 'darker' than most Caucasians?" If the child was as "light" as most Caucasians then the child was rated light skin, if not, then the child was rated medium skin.

An alternative to the procedure just described could have been to have taken a color photograph of each subject and have several individuals independently rate the respective children's skin color according to a three color position scale (light, medium and dark) based on the actual skin color spectrum of the subjects, or three pre-established color positions. Indeed, this procedure would have permitted re-examinations of any questionable ratings and provided opportunity to carefully settle "boarderline" cases. For example, the boundaries between light and medium, and medium and dark may not have existed for some of the raters, i e, they may have only "seen" light or dark individuals. While on the other hand, some raters may have seen more medium skin individuals, i e, rating only extremely light children light, and only extremely dark children dark. The latter two conditions may have occurred in the case of the ratings of actual skin color in this study, however, according to my knowledge of the situtation erroneous ratings were negligible. Nevertheless, several factors militated against the use of photographs. One major factor was cost. It would have been prohibitively expensive to photograph the large number of children studied given the limited budget afforded for this study.

Another major factor was the ethical and legal questions concerning research in the United States. First, it would have been questionable whether it would have been legal to take the subjects' pictures and use them, not to mention the problem of obtaining permission from parents. Secondly, the entire process of requesting permission to take photographs, waiting for replies, then organizing the actual photographing and soforth would have required a great amount of time which was not easily available. Consequently, the rating procedure discussed at the outset of Step 1.2 was used.

Step 2. A survey of the childrens' school activities revealed that several languages other than Swedish were used for formal instruction. Because a rather large number of the children to be tested could better understand various languages other than Swedish and were receiving some instruction in the latter, I made arrangements with the foreign language speaking teachers to translate and administer the test to the children in the respective language they could understand best.

After the latter arrangements were made, all the teachers were brought together in the respective schools by their head-teachers who explained the procedures for administering the Coloring Test, and along with the teachers prepared a schedule for testing the children. The head-teachers acted in a general supervisory capacity during this, and the actual period of testing the children. In some cases, head-teachers did administer the test. This usually occurred when a child was absent during the regularly scheduled test period and was required to be tested at another time.

Step 3. The testing was scheduled to be completed within a period of two weeks during September 1972. The testing commenced as planned, however, the period was extended one week because of some children being tested after their class was regularly scheduled. The test was administered in several languages as mentioned earlier. Each language group was tested separately by a teacher speaking the respective language.

The mean time was approximately twenty-five minutes for distribution, instructions, completion and collection of the tests in nearly all of the classes. In no case was the testing completed in less than twenty minutes or lasted longer than thirty minutes, except in instances where testing was done one-to-one. The latter cases were usually completed in about fifteen minutes or less.

The teachers who administered the test returned the forms and tape recordings to their respective head-teacher, who in turn held the tests until one of my associates or I came to the schools to obtain the tests.

My role during the period described above was "low-key", that is, I remained quite far in the background and only appeared at the schools when I was requested to clear up points of information and procedure about the testing, after my initial discussions with the head-teachers. I did not administer or supervise the administration of the testing. The primary reason for the latter procedure was to reduce the effect of "experimenter bias" (Rosenthal, 1963, pp 268-283), which refers mainly to the way in which the experimenter's handling of the subject, including the instructions, may produce effects in line with his expectancies. Moreover, Rosenthal (1969) notes that, numerous findings also indicate the influence of the characteristics of the experimenter, or of the interviewer in a survey, including sex and race differences vis-a-vis the subject. For example, if I were to have made frequent visits to the schools and/or made attempts to interact with the subjects in any manner related to the administration of the tests, it is highly probable that I would have been an "attractive nuisance". The term "attractive nuisance", is a concept used in American law which essentially means, that at certain times some objects, groups and individuals because of their "uniqueness" either in terms of certain physical characteristics and/or their being in some situation, where they ordinarily would not be present or expected to be present, provoke the curiosity and attention of others. For example, in the case of my person, being "highly visible" (a dark skinned Negroid) individual in a society wherein there are very few such persons, indeed, provokes others to take particular notice of my presence more than they would if I were like most others in that society, i e light skinned Caucasians (see, Hughes, 1972).

Therefore, in my opinion, it was quite reasonable to expect that if the children who were subjects of this study (in Sweden) were to become aware that I was related to their being tested about skin color identification and preference, and I directly or indirectly gained their curiosity or attention as a result of frequent appearances in the schools then, some children may have found a "reason", or "reasons" other than they ordinarily might have, to prefer, or not prefer dark skin color because of some "effect" my physical characteristics may

have induced (for that matter, my appearance likewise could have effected their "ideas" concerning preference and non-appeal; Epps, Perry, Katz and Runyon, 1971, pp 201 - 208).

To sum up, the children were tested in their schools by their teachers. The organization and implementation of the testing procedures and schedule was largely in accordance with the research design. The testing period was three weeks, one week longer than was envisioned. The instrument was administered by the children's teachers in several languages, Arabic, Turkish, Finnish, Swedish and English, without difficulty. This investigator's role after being given permission to have the test administered was very passive and essentially that of a resource person.

American Group: While data were being gathered in Europe, I made my initial "official request" to administer the Coloring Test to a group of children in the desired age range and skin color spectrum who were attending schools in the American School District. I received a reply which indicated that my "request would be granted". Indeed, the latter reply was by no means "absolute". Nevertheless, I subsequently had six-hundred copies of the Coloring Test mimeographed and along with the other Test materials (instructions and crayons) forwarded to associates in the United States who were to house these items until my arrival.

I departed from Sweden early in March 1973. After my arrival and conferring with various school officials in United States, it became apparent that there would likely be some delay prior commencing my efforts (if ever). The latter situation was due to my impression that this study was perceived by a number of school personnel to be rather "sensitive" because it had something to do with "racial issues". In my opinion, this was quite reasonable since for several years prior and during this time the school system was plagued by a variety of complex problems focused on, or about "racial issues". Thus, it became profoundly clear to me that if I were to realize my objectives, I, indeed, had to proceed with extreme caution and awareness of local conditions on so-called "racial questions". Therefore, I felt that I would require more time than I anticipated to "mature" school personnel with respect to my study before any testing would occur in the public schools. Consequently, I decided to seek permission to conduct a pre-trial of the Coloring Test in a private school. I located a private school which had children in the desired age range and skin color spectrum, requested, and was granted permission to try-out the instrument.

I administered all the pre-trial tests in the revised version to ninety children in four groups of twenty and one group of ten. As anticipated, the pre-trial was conducted without any difficulties and the instrument and procedure were found to be appropriate.

After the pre-trial I received an offer to assume a part-time position at a local University as a supervisor of student teachers. The position would require my supervising student teachers assigned to schools in the city were the study was conducted. I accepted the position. The latter was certainly a "stroke of good fortune", because: (1) it provided me with immediate access to the schools and the prospective children I wanted to study; (2) it potentially might allow me to be viewed as more of an "insider" and thus, perhaps less of a probable "threat" than I was previously perceived when I was clearly an "outsider"; and (3) it cloaked me with more "legitimacy", i e, I would quite likely be considered (and in fact would be) an official member in a well defined and long standing relationship between the school system and the university. In brief, the position, according to my perception of the local situation, would allow me to process my permission seeking efforts in significantly less anxiety producing circumstances than was the case prior to being employed by the univiersity.

My perception of local conditions was found to be accurate because my subsequent efforts to obtain permission to administer the Coloring Test was met with substantially less trepidation and suspicion of surreptitious activity on my part. I received permission three weeks subsequent to my assuming the position at the university.

Step 1. A total of 286 children were selected from five schools situated in the zones metioned earlier. Permission to arrange the testing schedule was obtained from the respective school administrators. According to the school administrators it was not essential to obtain permission from the childrens' parents, therefore, this procedure was omitted. The schedule was prepared so that the testing would occur during non-academic periods during the school day.

Step 2. Initially, I anticipated that I would administer the test to all the children, however, because many of the children were bilingual (Spanish-English), I arranged for those children to be tested by teachers who were fluent in Spanish.

When I administered the test to the children their regular teachers were not present because they ordinarily would not have been in charge of their respective groups during these periods (teacher-aids usually attended these periods). Each testing session was implemented as planned. There were no significant problems or difficulties with the procedures when the tests were administered by the Spanish speaking teachers or myself. Children who were absent when they were regularly scheduled to be tested were tested at a later date. The mean testing time was approximately the same as was the case with the European Group, twenty to thirty minutes with large groups and about fifteen minutes with individual children. The younger (under nine years of age) American children seemed to be significantly less restless than did the younger children in the European group, therefore, they were tested in larger groups. Four weeks were required to complete the testing.

Obviously the various information sessions, distribution and collection procedures were not necessary because of my handling the majority of the testing personally. My role, although active, was nevertheless, "low key". That is, I was already a familiar person to the children as a result of being in the various schools in the capacity of student teacher supervisor; thus, my frequent visits did not attract more than the "usual" attention other such persons received. Additionally, I did not do, or say anything which suggested that the testing was something special or the like.

The reason for the latter was to reduce and hopefully eliminate most of what Rosenberg (1965) pp 1, 28, 42, terms "evaluation apprehension". He (Rosenberg) contends that subjects, particularly in experiments are desirous of winning a positive evaluation from the experimenter, and accordingly develop subjective hypotheses about what it is that will produce that result as against a negative one. Even the promise of anonymity is not enough to dispel this kind of concern for some people.

Nevertheless, we need keep in mind as Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966) suggest that whenever there is awareness of being a part of a research study, some contamination of responses is possible, especially in terms of the heightened and altered reactivity of the subjects.

Step 3. When all the tests were collected from the American Group they were scored and the results compiled along with data gathered from the European group as described below.

3.5 How Data Were Handled

First, the sample populations were divided into two groups: (1) European Group and (2) American Group.

Second, the two groups were then, respectively subgrouped according to: (1) Age; and (2) Skin color.

Third, the Coloring Tests were scored. The test results indicated 27 children as not having a stable-object-color-relationship. They were eliminated from further analysis. The results of the children demonstrating both a stable-object-color-relationship and a reality-based correspondence between color identification and color preference were then tabulated and compiled according to: (1) identification of skin color; (2) misidentification of skin color; and (3) skin color preference. The latter three compilations were subsequently categorized and grouped according to whether they were light, medium or dark.

Fourth, the test results (dependent variables; identification/misidentification of skin color and skin color preference) were then collapsed cumulatively over: (1) age; (2) sex; and (3) skin color - light, medium and dark (independent variables).

All of the children who passed the control section demonstrated a reality-based correspondence between skin color identification/misidentification and skin color preference.

Fifth, data were prepared for statistical treatment: Nie, Ben and Hall (1970) Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, version 13/3/71 (computer program).

Sixth, and finally, the recordings of the unsolicited remarks made by the children during the administration of the Coloring Tests were transcribed categorized and compiled as follows:

(1) References to skin color,
 a) positive and
 b) negative;
(2) Interpretations/explanations and the like of responses regarding skin color identification/mis-identification and preference.

The results are set forth in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

The principal data for analysis consisted of two measures for each child in the European and American groups. The two measures were: (1) perceived skin color in relation to actual skin color; and (2) preferred and not preferred skin color. The results of the latter mentioned measures are reported in this chapter.

For presentation in this chapter, data were compiled and grouped as follows:

1) Actual skin color crosstabulated with perceived skin color.
2) Crosstabulation of actual skin color and preferred skin color according to age groups.
3) Crosstabulation of actual skin color and skin color not preferred according to age groups.
4) Coefficient of correlation of crosstabulation of actual skin color, and perceived skin color, according to age groups.
5) Coefficient of correlation of crosstabulation of skin color preferred, and skin color not preferred.

There were two major reasons why data were grouped for presentation as indicated above.

First, there were no sex differences obtained. Secondly, the multiple age groupings permit the reader to digest a mass of data without wondering through a large amount of tabular material.

Nevertheless, this chapter largely consists of statistical tables, and figures, however, complemented with textual commentary as is deemed necessary and appropriate. Discussion per se of the findings will occur in the text chapter.

Now, let us turn to the results. First, we shall take a look at the correspondence between the children's actual skin color and perceived skin color. Tables 4.1 through 4.8 presents these results.

4.1 Skin color identification European group

Table 4.1: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color European group 7 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Row Total
Light		54 100.0 100.0 87.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	54 87.1
Medium		0 0.0 0.0 0.0	8 100.0 100.0 12.9	8 12.9
	Column Total	54 87.1	8 12.9	62 100.0

Corrected chi square = 53,421, 1 df, $p < .001$
Phi= 0.928
Gamma= 1.000
$r = 1.00$, $p < .001$

Table 4.2: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color European group 8-9 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Row Total
Light		54 100.0 100.0 83.1	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	54 83.1
Medium		0 0.0 0.0 0.0	11 100.0 100.0 16.9	11 16.9
	Column Total	54 83.1	11 16.9	65 100.0

Corrected chi square = 58.081, 1 df, $p < .001$
Phi = 0.945
Gamma = 1.000
$r = 1.00$, $p < .001$

Table 4.3: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color
European group 10-12 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		73	0	0	73
		100.0	0.0	0.0	72.3
		100.0	0.0	0.0	
		72.3	0.0	0.0	
Medium		0	25	0	25
		0.0	100.0	0.0	24.8
		0.0	100.0	0.0	
		0.0	24.8	0.0	
Dark		0	0	3	3
		0.0	0.0	100.0	3.0
		0.0	0.0	100.0	
		0.0	0.0	3.0	
	Column Total	73	25	3	101
		72.3	24.8	3.0	100.0

Chi square = 202.000, 4 df, $p < .001$
Contingency coefficient = 0.816
Gamma = 1.000
$r = 1.00$, $p < .001$

Table 4.4: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color
European group 7-12 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		181	0	0	181
		100.0	0.0	0.0	79.4
		100.0	0.0	0.0	
		79.4	0.0	0.0	
Medium		0	44	0	44
		0.0	100.0	0.0	19.3
		0.0	100.0	0.0	
		0.0	19.3	0.0	
Dark		0	0	3	3
		0.0	0.0	100.0	1.3
		0.0	0.0	100.0	
		0.0	0.0	1.3	
	Column Total	181	44	3	228
		79.4	19.3	1.3	100.0

Chi square = 456,000, 4 df, $p < .001$
Contingency coefficient = 0.816
Gamma = 1.000
$r = 1.00$, $p < .001$

Crosstabulation of perceived and actual skin color shown in Tables 4.1 through 4.4 delineates a perfect association between actual and perceived skin color among the European children regardless of age, sex and actual skin color differences (Chi^2 = 456.00, df = 4, $p < .0001$; r = +1.00, $p < .001$).

4.2 Skin Color Identification American Group

Table 4.5: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color American group 7 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		26 72.2 68.4 42.6	2 5.6 50.0 3.3	8 22.2 42.1 13.1	36 59.0
Medium		12 63.2 31.6 19.7	2 10.5 50.0 3.3	5 26.3 26.3 8.2	19 31.1
Dark		0 0.0 0.0 0.0	0 0.0 0.0 0.0	6 100.0 31.6 9.8	6 9.8
	Column Total	38 62.3	4 6.6	19 31.1	61 100.0

Chi square = 15,409, 4 df, $p < .01$
Contingency coefficient = 0.449
Gamma = 0.531
r = .39, $p < .001$

Table 4.6: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color
American group 8-9 Years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		44	4	4	52
		84.6	7.7	7.7	55.9
		88.0	22.2	16.0	
		47.3	4.3	4.3	
Medium		5	13	11	29
		17.2	44.8	37.9	31.2
		10.0	72.2	44.0	
		5.4	14.0	11.8	
Dark		1	1	10	12
		8.3	8.3	83.3	12.9
		2.0	5.6	40.0	
		1.1	1.1	10.8	
	Column Total	50	18	25	93
		53.8	19.4	26.9	100.0

Chi square = 57,803, 4 df, $p < .001$
Contingency Coefficient = 0.619
Gamma = 0.857
$r = .67$, $p < .001$

Table 4.7: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color
American group 10-12 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		62	3	2	67
		92.5	4.5	3.0	63.8
		86.1	20.0	11.1	
		59.0	2.9	1.9	
Medium		8	4	9	21
		38.1	19.0	42.9	20.0
		11.1	26.7	50.0	
		7.6	3.8	8.6	
Dark		2	8	7	17
		11.8	47.1	41.2	16.2
		2.8	53.3	38.9	
		1.9	7.6	6.7	
	Column Total	72	15	18	105
		68.6	14.3	17.1	100.0

Chi square = 55,745, 4 df, $p < .001$
Contingency coefficient = 0.589
Gamma = 0.836
$r = .64$, $p < .001$

Table 4.8: Crosstabulation of actual and perceived skin color
American group 7-12 years old

(Actual Color)	Count / Row % / Col % / Tot %	(Perceived Color) Light	Medium	Dark	Row Total
Light		132	9	14	155
		85.2	5.8	9.0	59.8
		82.5	24.3	22.6	
		51.0	3.5	5.4	
Medium		25	19	25	69
		36.2	27.5	36.2	26.6
		15.6	51.4	40.3	
		9.7	7.3	9.7	
Dark		3	9	23	35
		8.6	25.7	65.7	13.5
		1.9	24.3	37.1	
		1.2	3.5	8.9	
	Column Total	160	37	62	259
		61.8	14.3	23.9	100.0

Chi square = 100.788, 4 df, $p < .001$
Contingency coefficient = 0.529
Gamma = 0.787
$r = .58$, $p < .001$

Table 4.5 indicates that 56 % of the 7 years old correctly identified their actual skin color and 44 % did not. It also indicates that 28 % of the light skin children, 89 % of the medium skin children, and none of the dark skin children misidentified their actual skin color.

Table 4.6 shows that 72 % of the 8-9 years old correctly identified their actual skin color and 28 % did not. According to color 15 % of the light skin children, 55 % of the medium skin children and 17 % of the dark skin children misidentified their actual skin color.

Table 4.7 notes that 70 % of the 10-12 years old identified their actual skin color and 30 % did not. Based on actual skin color groupings among the 10-12 years old, 7 % of the light skin children, 81 % of the medium skin children, and 59 % of the dark skin children misidentified their actual skin color.

Table 4.8 demonstrates, that as a group according to actual skin color 15 % of the light skin children, 72 % of the medium skin children and

34 % of the dark skin children misidentified their actual skin color.

Graphic representations charting the American children's identification an misidentification according to age (Figures 4.1) and according to actual skin color (Figures 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4) are shown below. Combined results according to skin color are shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.1 below indicates the 8-9 years old (72 %) and the 10-12 years old (70 %) demonstrated a greater correspondence between actual and perceived skin color than did the 7 years old (56 %). Put another way, among the American children, there is an increase in the correspondence between actual and perceived skin color from 7 years old at 56 % to 8-12 years old at about 70 %.

Figure 4.2 shows that as light skin American children increase in age, there is a steady decline in mis-identification, from 28 % to 7 %.

Figure 4.3 illustrates that among medium skin children the 7 years old (89 %), and 10-12 years old (81 %), have about the same percentage of mis-identification, while the 8-9 years old demonstrated a substantially better correspondence between actual and perceived skin color (55 % mis-identification).

Figure 4.4 notes that among dark skin children with an increase in age, there is a dramatic increase in the lack of correspondence between actual and perceived skin color from null at 7 years to 59 % at 10-12 years old.

Numerically and percentage-wise the medium skin children showed the least correspondence between actual and perceived skin color, followed by the dark skin children, and finally, the light skin children.

Figure 4.5 which combines the light, medium and dark skin children shows that the light skin children demonstrated the most progressive, performance, the dark skin children the most regressive performance, and the medium skin children the most irregular performance respectively in correspondence between actual and perceived skin color.

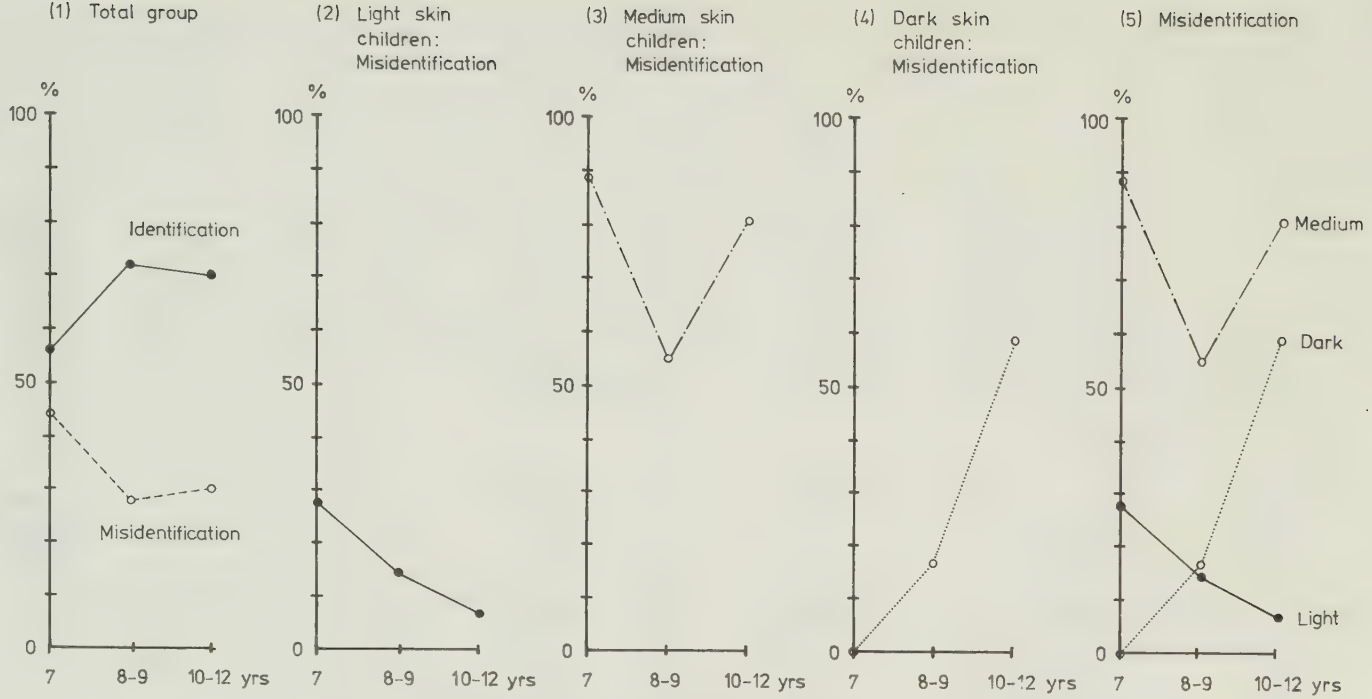


Figure 4.1 - 4.5: Correspondence Between Actual and Perceived Skin Color According to Age (American Sample).

4.3 Skin Color Preference, European Group

Table 4.9: Distributions of Actual Skin Color and Preferred Skin Color According to Age Groups

	European Group									
	7 years old			8-9 years old			10-12 years old			7-12 years old	
	Actual Color	Preferred Color		Actual Color	Preferred Color		Actual Color	Preferred Color		Actual Color	Preferred Color
	N = 62	Response	%	N = 65	Response	%	N = 101	Response	%	N = 228	Response %
Light	54	31	(50)	54	32	(49)	73	68	(67)	181	131 (57)
Medium	8	16	(26)	11	9	(14)	25	11	(11)	44	36 (16)
Dark	-	15	(24)	-	24	(21)	3	22	(22)	3	61 (27)

	American Group									
	N = 61	Response	%	N = 93	Response	%	N = 105	Response	%	N = 259	Response %
Light	36	15	(25)	52	42	(45)	67	66	(63)	155	123 (48)
Medium	19	13	(22)	29	26	(28)	21	25	(24)	69	64 (25)
Dark	6	33	(53)	12	25	(27)	17	14	(13)	35	72 (27)

Table 4.9 indicates that among both the European and American groups there is a greater preference for dark skin color in relation to actual skin color respectively possessed by the subjects in all age groups, with the exception of the 10-12 year old dark skin children.[1] This can first be observed by noting the number of dark skin children in each age group, (except among the 10-12 year dark skin American children) it can be seen that in every case, there is a greater number of preferences for dark skin color than are actual dark skin children. The only other indication of a greater number of preferences for a skin color other than are actually in a given age-color group, occurs among the 7 years old medium skin children in the European group (actual = 8, preferred = 16).

The overall, or general preference which is demonstrated for dark skin, is more apparent among the European group than it is among the American group. The combined results of the respective groups dramatizes the overall preference for the dark skin (See, Table 4.9, 7-12 years old).

Among the American 7 years old we can note the largest number of light and/or medium skin children registering a preference for dark skin color (26 out of 55, or nearly 50 %). In the European group we can find the latter occuring among the 8-9 years old (24 out of 65, or nearly 33 %). The term "light and/medium", is used because it can not be specifically demonstrated how many of the light or medium skin children preferred dark, but only that all, or some of either, must have demonstrated a preference for dark skin.

Table 4.9, also illustrates that with the increase in age among the European sample, there is an increase in the percentage and number of preferences for light skin color. Medium skin color decreases as a skin color preference as age increases among the European group.

Among the American children, light skin color decreases as a preference with an increase in age. Likewise, among the medium skin Americans, as age increases medium skin color decreases as a skin color preference.

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[1] Cross-tabulations of and correlations between actual color and preferences for each age group within the European and the American samples are presented in tables 1 - 6 in Appendix A.

Table 4.10: Distributions of Actual Skin Color Not Preferred According to Age Groups[1]

European Group

	7 years old		8-9 years old		10-12 years old		7-12 years old	
	Actual Color	Color not Preferred	Actual Color	Color not Preferred	Actual Color	Color Not Preferred	Actual Color	Color not Preferred
	N = 62	Response %	N = 65	Response %	N = 101	Response %	N = 228	Response %
Light	54	13 (21)	54	24 (34)	73	16 (16)	181	54 (24)
Medium	8	6 (10)	11	6 (8)	25	11 (11)	44	23 (10)
Dark	-	41 (69)	-	36 (58)	3	73 (73)	3	152 (66)

American Group

	N = 61	Response %	N = 93	Response %	N = 105	Response %	N = 259	Response %
Light	36	13 (21)	52	16 (17)	67	25 (24)	155	53 (20)
Medium	19	19 (31)	29	20 (22)	21	20 (19)	69	58 (22)
Dark	6	30 (58)	12	58 (61)	17	61 (67)	35	148 (58)

[1]Crosstabulations of and correlations between actual color and non-preferences for each age group within both samples are presented in Tables in Appendix A.

In the main the figures shown in Table 4.10, are essentially the inverse of those shown in Table 4.9. It should be noted, however, that Table 4.10 on its face alone, gives the appearance that dark skin color is least preferred. This is not the case in terms of the ratio of actual skin color in relation to skin color preferred. That is numerically, there is a greater demonstration of non-preference for dark skin; however, a greater ratio of light and medium skin subjects indicate a greater preference for dark skin than they do for light and medium skin respectively, i e, skin color like their respective own.

Thus Tables 4.9 and 4.10, serve a twofold purpose, first they provide us with descriptive data, and secondly, they act as a measure of reliability for one another.

Table 4.11 shows that among the European group there was a perfect correlation between actual and perceived skin color, ($r = +1.00$, $p<.001$).

Table 4.12 reveals that the crosstabulation between skin color preferred and skin color not preferred for both the American and European groups yielded low to moderately low negative correlation coefficients, all of which excepting the 7 years old Europeans were significant at the $p = .001$, level. Moreover, the r values shown in Table 4.12 act as a measure of reliability with respect to test items 7 and 8 (girl and boy drawings for skin color preferred) and items 9 and 10 (girl and boy drawings for skin color not preferred). That is, the r values connote an inverse relationship between the childrens indications of preference and non preferences, simply meaning when children indicated one color as their preference, they in turn indicated some other color as not preferred.

Tests of the differences between the r-values (transformed to z-values) for the boy and the girl picture yielded no statistically significant differences except among the 7 years old Europeans ($z = 1.975$, $p<.03$). However, test of the differences between the r-values for the European and the American sample gave significant results in five out of eight comparisons. In every case were the r-values higher in the European group.

Table 4.11: Coefficient of Correlation between Actual Skin Color and Perceived Skin Color

Sex of Picture[1]	Age	European Group N	r	p	American Group N	r	p
boy	7 years	62	1.0	.001	61	.39	.001
girl							
boy	8-9 years	65	1.0	.001	93	.67	.001
girl							
boy	10-12 years	101	1.0	.001	105	.64	.001
girl							
boy	7-12 years	228	1.0	.001	259	.58	.001
girl							

Table 4.12: Coefficient of Correlation between Skin Color Preferred and Skin Color Not Preferred

Sex of Picture[1]	Age	European Group r	p	American Group r	p	diff$(r_E - r_A)$
boy	7 years	-.45	.001	-.15	ns	ns
girl		-.69	.001	-.15	ns	$p < 0.01$
boy	8-9 years	-.75	.001	-.52	.001	$p < 0.02$
girl		-.80	.001	-.44	.001	$p < 0.01$
boy	10-12 years	-.68	.001	-.67	.001	ns
girl		-.63	.001	-.64	.001	ns
boy	7-12 years	-.65	.001	-.46	.001	$p < 0.01$
girl		-.71	.001	-.42	.001	$p < 0.01$

[1]Sex of Picture refers to the drawings in the coloring test; for Table 4.11 items 5 and 6, for Table 4.12 items 7 through 10.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

5.1 Skin Color Identification

European Group Results obtained from the European group regarding skin color identification indicated that regardless of age, sex and actual skin color differences among them, all the children demonstrated a perfect correspondence between actual and perceived skin color ($r = +1.00$, $p < .001$).

Results of earlier research exploring skin color identification (e g Horowitz, 1939; Clark and Clark, 1939; Helgersen, 1943; Goodman, 1946; et al) have demonstrated that children around 4 to 5 years of age begin to give evidence of possessing a stable or accurate relationship between their actual and perceived skin color. Consequently, the results obtained here, which reflect observations of actual and perceived skin color among children ranging in age from 7 to 12 years old, would appear to be consistent with, and/or expected, given earlier findings on the topic. That is, children begin to demonstrate a stable relationship between actual and perceived skin color around age 5.

It must be noted, however, that all subjects of earlier work were American children, most of whom were American Negroes, and were studied in the context of American social conditions which places a great deal of emphasis on racial membership and skin color, which are commonly thought of as being synonymous (which according to some anthropologists is erroneous, see for example, Kroeber, 1948, pp 85, 105, 109 - 110). Additionally, in the American social context skin color identification has been, and still is inextricably linked with specific color names used to identify "racial" groups. The latter in my opinion, implies that identification of actual skin color in the American context is tied to awareness of the color name associated with the racial group that an individual is identified as being a member of. Therefore, as I have pointed out in Chapter Two, when discussing the direction of this study, some American research on the topic of skin color identification, in my opinion leaves something to be desired, because it is not always exactly clear whether children were "really expected" to identify their

actual skin color, or the color name associated with their "known", or "presumed" racial membership (e g Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968).

The European group studied here, was comprised of children from 21 different national or ethnic groups none of which were American, and all of the children presumably were socialized outside of America, and when data were gathered they were all living in Sweden. Nevertheless, the European group results with respect to actual and perceived skin color appear to confirm a hypothesis which can be derived from findings obtained from American children living in America.

In my opinion, there are several different factors which more than likely influenced the responses of the European group which lead to a perfect correspondence between actual and perceived skin color than would, if at all be the case with a comparable American groups such as the one observed here. The factors to which I have referred, I believe are centered around the differences between American society and European societies, particularly Swedish society, with respect to the significance of possessing certain skin color, and the use of color names to identify skin color.

Generally in Europe, and particularly in Sweden, special color names have not been the traditional primary mode of expression employed when distinguishing and/or identifying human groups (Hughes, 1972; see also, Biddess, 1966; van den Berghe, 1967; and Shibutani and Kwan, 1965).

On the other hand, there may be some who would argue, there are instances in Sweden where certain color names are used in a quasi-institutionalized manner. Let us examine what I suspect are the major sources from which the latter claim would most likely be derived.

Some might claim, and rightly so that mass media appears to have institutionalized the use of certain color names to refer to some human groups. For example, sometimes American Caucasians and Negroes are respectively referred to by the terms "vit" (white) and "svart"(black). Upon close inspection of these instances, it will be noted that the color names black and white are largely limited to circumstances in the United States relating to some difference (usually conflict) between Negro and Caucasian Americans. Most often, however, Americans are referred to by the term American, unless some special distinction between ethnic groups in America is desired. The term "neger" (Negro) is more frequently used to make distinctions among Americans Presumably, the term "Neger" implies

distinction on the basis of skin pigmentation, although in the main it implies "racial group" membership. More commonly, in the mass media people are referred to by their national or ethnic group membership, e g, Greek, Chinese, German, Gypsy, Lapp etc. Of course, reference to ethnic or national group membership to some infers possession of certain skin color, but does not focus upon it per se, but rather upon language and culture which is indigenous to certain groups.

At the individual level there probably are some who may frequently refer to people according to some special color names; however, it is my studied opinion (Hughes, 1972) such references are the exception and not the "rule". Curiously, I have heard some Swedes refer to Southern Europeans and Gypsies as "mörk" (dark). Much to my surprise in many of these instances Swedes were referring to hair color, not skin color which my orientation in America lead me to believe. Another rather interesting illustration of how traditional propriety frustrates the use of color names as a principal referent to individuals in Sweden is, in cases where an individual who may be, for example, Negroid, or Mongoloid, however, possesses Swedish citizenship. Such persons are primarily identified as Swedes (of course providing someone knows of their citizenship, otherwise the individual would probably be referred to as a Negro, Oriental etc). Such hyphonated terms as, "Negro-Swedish, black-Swedish, Oriental-Swedish" etc, have not been a part of the Swedish tradition and are not used in contemporary Swedish life to the best of my knowledge.

Therefore, I propose that in cases where color names are used to identify individuals and groups, such references are infrequent, and limited to very special situations, and are by no means, a reflection of how people in society at large tend to identify individuals, and groups possessing various skin pigmentation. I further submit that Europeans in general, particularly those residing in Sweden and Swedes in particular are so influenced by, and bound to traditional modes of expression with reference to individuals and human groups (which is according to national or ethnic group membership) there is little necessity to identify people in other terms (e g, skin pigmentation) except in special instances such as I have mentioned above.

Given the remarks just made with respect to European cultures in general and Swedish society in particular, it would seem that even if the children studied had been exposed to some instances wherein special color

names were used as the principal mode of expression in reference to individuals, and groups, (the accurance of which is very limited in Sweden) then, the children's tendency to conform to traditional cultural proprieties would reduce the probability of acceptance of special color names as their principal referents to identify individuals, and groups. Put another way, because the children studied were most likely socialized to adhere to a tradition which did not advocate using special color names as the principal means to identify individuals, and groups, the children were probably inclined to largely, if not entirely perceive, and thus identify their skin pigmentation in terms of objective reality, i e, their actual skin color.

Many of the actual responses registered by the European group (the crayon colorings of the outline drawings, items 5 and 6 in Coloring Test) appear to confirm the notion that children were, in the main really trying to approximate objective reality - their actual skin color per se. For example, many children used two colors such as white and red in an apparent attempt to obtain a pinkish color, others used yellow and red possibly to obtain an approximation of rudy complexions, in still other instances children used one color, however, the strokes employed suggested they were trying to obtain a certain shade which I construed to mean the child probably was trying to indicate a certain degree of saturation of that given color. There were only three dark skin children, and all three used the color brown to identify their skin color.

Unfortunately, I did not tabulate the number of times a certain color was used, or exactly how many children used more than one color. Indeed, the latter information would enhance the data presented here; however, the primary focus here was to ascertain how close the colors the children used to identify their actual skin color corresponded with their actual skin color, and not how the children used the colors per se. However, the responses of the American sample required me to deviate somewhat from the primary focus and particularly deal with how they used the crayon colors to identify their actual skin color. More will be said about this matter once this discussion on the European group's Test results of skin color identification is concluded.

To sum up at this juncture. The results of the skin color identification portion of the Coloring test administered to the European sample indicated that the children demonstrated a perfect correspondence between their actual skin color and their perception of the latter. The stability of

this relationship was probably influenced by several factors, (1) cultural traditions which have not institutionalized the use of color names to identify individuals and groups; (2) because the children were most likely socialized to adhere to tradition, they probably did not have pre-established color names to use as referents to identify their actual skin color which may, or may not have corresponded with their actual skin color; (3) the children not having pre-established color names to use as referents to identify their skin color appeared to princibly use objective reality (their actual skin color) to identify their skin pigmentation, thus the probability for correspondence was high, and the probability for noncorrespondence was low. The correlation between actual and perceived skin color was, $r = +1.00$, $p < .001$.

American Group The results indicate that only about Five thirds of the American children, (62.2 %) demonstrated a positive correspondence between, their actual and perceived skin color. Put another way, 32.8 % of the American children misperceived their actual skin color.

In the first instance, the latter finding may appear quite remarkable because of the sheer fact alone that one third of the group of 7-12 years old American children studied misidentified their actual skin color.

On the other hand, the result just mentioned, in the context of earlier findings, indeed, might appear quite ordinary. For example, taking a look at six earlier investigations reported we will note that the percentage of misidentifications were as follows:

1) Horowitz (1939)	42 %	
2) Goodman (1946)	60 %	(highest % of misidentifications)
3) Clark and Clark (1947)	33 %	
4) Morland (1958)	32 %	(lowest % of misidentifications)
5) Morland (1963)	45 %	
6) Oppenheim and Greenwald (1968)	49 %	
	45 %	(average % of misidentification)

The 32,8 % misidentifications observed in this study, in relation to the six mentioned above, are, 12,2 units below the average. Consequently, on the basis of percentage of misidentifications alone, the results here appear to be consistent with earlier findings on this topic. However, we must take other important factors into consideration, which happen to be the age differences, and time when data were gathered.

The subjects of the investigation reported here, were 4-9 years older than the youngest subjects of earlier work (3 years old), and 1-6 years older than the oldest subjects of earlier work (6 years old). Additionally, there are 4 to 33 years difference between the time when data reported here were gathered, and when data reported earlier were gathered. What might be the significance of the results obtained here in relation to the differences in age of the subjects studied here, and those of earlier research? What is the significance if any, in the differences between the periods during which data were gathered?

First, let us take up the question of age differences. As I have pointed out earlier in this chapter when discussing the results of actual and perceived skin color among the European group, it has been "established" that children begin to demonstrate a positive correspondence between actual and perceived skin color around 4-5 years of age, (according to research in America). Therefore, the 7-12 years old children studied here could reasonably have been expected to demonstrate a positive association between actual and perceived skin color, more so than a group of children under age 7 years. The percentage of misidentifications among the American children in this investigation dispell the latter hypotheses. It is true that the children studied percentage-wise perceived their actual skin color less accurately at 7 years of age (44 %), than they do at 10-12 years of age (30 %),but the picture is confused when we consider their actual skin color (cf: Figures 4:2 - 4:5).

A number of factors may account for the variation in respect to identification with the increase in age among the children observed. To do the latter I will first place the whole question of skin color, and its significance in America, in historical perspective, since it may be germane in our analysis, and discussion of the results of skin color identification among the American children.

The European settlers in America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries identified the indigenous population (so-called Indians) as red men, probably because the skin color of the average so-called Indian was perceived as being "red" in relation to the early settlers (the practice of calling Indians "red men" is still used by some people in America today, nowever, it has been largely replaced by the term, "Native American").

Negroid Africans brought to America and held in bondage during the seventeenth, eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries were initially identified as "blacks". (Curiously, the term black derived from the Latin term, niger, was superseeded by the terms "colored" then "Negro", and finally in contemporary America we find the term "black" appearing again as the primary referent used to identify Negroes in America. The latter term, "black", today is chiefly promoted by Negroid Americans, whereas, in earlier times the term "black" was chiefly promoted by Caucasian Americans).

The Chinese who were "Shanghaied" and brought to the West Coast of America were identified as members of the "yellow race". Caucasians who were indentured servants in early America were distinguished from other Caucasians, and identified as "poor whites", and in some cases, "white trash". Although what has been termed as indentured servitude no longer exists among Caucasians in America, the terms "poor white" and "white trash" do. Today the latter terms are largely used when referring to impoverished or socially undesirable Caucasians.

The early Mexican population, largely contained in the Southwestern, and far Western sections of America were called the "brown race" or "brown people". There are many people today who continue to identify Mexican Americans as the "brown race" or "brown people", however, Mexican Americans have in recent times been promoting the terms "Chicano", and "La Raza" to identify themselves.

Consequently, the major means of accounting for differences between human groups in America has been, and still is largely according to skin color, which is believed to be synonymous with racial group membership.

Why is skin color (race) emphasized in America? Allport (1954) observes that, "Because there is a curious air of finality in the term 'racial'. One thinks of heredity as inexorable, as conferring an essence upon a group from which there is no escape". (p 106) Kroeber (1948, p 84) earlier noted that skin color is probably emphasized because it is the most conspicuous and "fixed" trait of any racial group. I propose, that since discrimination and oppression of non-Caucasian people in America has been justified on the basis of supposed racial differences, and skin color being believed as the major if not only indicator thereof, it can thus be used as , and often is,

the sole means for justifying a individual's, or group's social, and economic circumstances.

Finally, however, we view the issue of skin color and its significance in America, we must conclude that the color of a person's skin has become institutionalized as the primary means by which people are identified in America. Since of necessity color names are used to identify skin color, the practice of using color names to identify individuals and groups by Americans is a tradition almost inextricably woven into the American's perception of self and of others.

Since the late 1960's there have been dramatic efforts made by "skin color minorities" in America to instill a positive sense of pride in self and group. One aspect of the latter efforts has been to teach pride in the skin color that one possesses. In my opinion, the more accurate description of the latter is teaching pride in the color name which symbolizes one's group, as exemplified by the slogan, "black is beautiful". If young children were to internalize the rhetoric concerning group pride in the color name which symbolizes their respective groups, then, there are some obvious outcomes to be expected. Some of them are: (1) children should be cognizant of the color name which symbolizes them and their group; (2) children would probably identify their actual skin color with, and by using the color name which symbolizes their actual skin color; and (3) children would probably demonstrate a preference for their own skin color and/or color name which symbolizes it, more than they would for other skin colors and/or symbols thereof. Given the propositions just stated, and the fact that the color names used to identify groups in America are largely, and in some cases entirely inaccurate, it seems reasonable to expect that some children would inevitably misidentify their actual skin color, when asked such as the children studied here were asked to identify their skin color.

Raw data gathered here (the children's actual colorings of the outline drawings) tend to confirm the proposition that some American children identify their skin color according to the color name which symbolizes their group, rather than according to their actual skin color. For example, some children who were not rated dark, and who were Negro, used black crayon, however, faintly colored the drawings of the girl and boy (items 5 and 6). There were other Negro children who were rated dark, some of whom also used black crayon to identify their skin

color, in some cases by using light strokes, and in other cases by using heavy strokes. All responses of the latter types were scored as "correct" because these children were in effect graphically saying, I belong to the group identified as "black", therefore, I am "black". In the context of contemporary American race relations, and popular language, these Negro children are "black" because their social environment repeatedly "tells", stimulates, and "rewards" them to believe they are black. Further, for some of these children pride in the "idea of blackness" (what ever the concept means) was apparently so internalized as an integral part of the idea of self, the objective fact that their skin color was not black, was virtually inconceivable.

It is also probable that in some cases light skinned, and possibly some medium skinned Negro children may have felt a stronger "need" to use the black crayon to identify themselves, than did the dark skin Negro children. For example, if light and medium skin children perceived their actual skin color in accordance with objective reality by no means could they have selected the color black to identify their actual skin color. However, in the child's mind, the reasoning process might be as follos: "I belong to the group identified as black, consequently, I must be black, but objective reality tells me, I am not black." Thus, subjective reality induced by the child's social environment (the child having learned to believe that he is black) are in disharmony. Depending upon the extent to which the child has internalized his subjectively based belief that he is black, the child is subject to displace the objective fact of not being black in favor of his subjective belief and socially rewarding idea of identifying himself as black.

It is, indeed, probable that the disharmony described above may not have been experienced by dark skinned Negro children, because their actual skin color objectively is in greater proximity with the color black than is the case for medium and light skinned Negro children. Of course, the latter presumes that a dark skinned child thinks of himself as being black.

Consequently, it can be argued that the low number of misidentifications among the dark 7 years old (none), and among the dark 8-9 years old (17 %), can be attributed to two factors, (1) the children in fact having an accurate perception of their actual skin color, and (2) the scoring procedures used which permitted the use of a color name (black)

which symbolizes more than identifies dark skin color.

What then explains 59 % of the dark skinned 10-12 years old misidentifying their actual skin color?

With the exception of wishful thinking, I am in want of an explanation given data that were gathered. That is, the older children may have for a number of reasons "wished" to identify with, or be identified as "lighter" than they in fact were. Specifically, what may have motivated the wishful thinking (if it was in fact the case) can not be conclusively proven here. However, the most casual observer of the American social and economic scene can attest to the fact that light skin is associated with "good" times, and dark skin is associated with "bad"times. Therefore, I propose that, the older children being more aware of and sophisticated about skin color in relation to social and economic rewards, probably were more motivated to lend themselves to "wishful thinking than were the younger dark skin children. And doing so in the context of this study, they misidentified their skin color.

Note Figure 4.2, we can see that among the light skinned children (most of whom were Caucasian) there is a decrease in the percentage of misidentifications with the increase in age. It can be argued that the younger light skinned children may have associated certain positive things with having darker skin. For example, from around 1964, to the present young "color-minority, children have increasingly been receiving attention, particularly in the public schools via special programs, ostensibly designed for "intellectual and social enrichment", which was supposed to help these children "catch up" with non-minority group children, i e Caucasians. It is quite plausible that over the years, or presently, young Caucasian children have become desirous of the attention given to "color-minority" children and possibly associate the attention with possessing dark skin.

Consequently, some light skin children could have perceived what Orne (1962, pp 17, 776-783), calls the "demand characteristics" of the experiment (administration of the Coloring Test) as implying or suggesting some reward, e g, possibly attention. Because some of the light skin children may have associated attention with darker skin, some of them could have registered their skin color as being darker than it actually was in anticipation of attention they perceived implied as forth coming in the experimental situation. Basically, the younger light skin children's

responses like the older dark skin children's responses could have been manifestations of wishful thinking. Indeed, the responses also could have been the result of other factors beyond the parameter of data gathered. However, such matters are far to speculative for purposes here.

From 8-9 years through 12 years old, the light skin children began to demonstrate a substantially higher correspondence between actual and perceived skin color. Moreover, among the light skin American children at all age levels 72 % or more of the children "correctly" identified their actual skin color, the average for all age levels was 83 % (at 7 years 72 %; at 8-9 years 85 %; and at 10-12 years 93 %).

Among the medium skinned children many of whom were members of the Mongoloid and Other racial groups, more than half of them misidentified their skin color in all age groups. At 7 years old, 89 %; at 8-9 years old, 55 %; and at 10-12 years old 81 %. This finding certainly implies several factors.

First, the procedures used may have artificially induced a substantial number of misidentifications as a result of "experimenter bias", "evaluation apprehension", and "demand characteristics". Let us examine the probability of the latter three factors affecting the responses of the medium skinned children.

With regard to "experimenter bias", the skin color of the tester may well have played a role, because with the exception of myself, all the testers were light or medium skinned. It could have been that some of the medium skin children for a number of reasons identified with my skin color, or with that of the testers who were light skinned. If the medium skin children did in fact misidentify their skin color in an effort to identify with some of the testers, it was most likely because the testers in some manner were "significant others" over a period of time, or perhaps because of what the children perceived as "demand characteristics" in the testing situation. That is, the medium skinned children for a variety of reasons may have believed they were required to identify with the testers who were light or dark skinned. In the same light, "evaluation apprehension" that is, the subjects desire of winning a positive evaluation from the experimenter, could have played a role, i e, medium skinned children thinking that, if they were to identify with the tester by identifying their actual skin color as being the same as that of the tester, they (the

medium skinned children) would in some way be perceived in a favorable or positive manner by the tester(s).

Secondly, the question of physical or intellectual derangements can be ruled out, since all the children were physically sound, and average, or above in intelligence.

Thirdly, the rating procedures may have played a role. It could have been that some children who were rated as medium skinned, in fact should have been rated light or dark skinned (i e, boarderline cases). Undoubtedly, there probably were such cases. However, from my best estimate, the latter could not have occurred more than 5 times, which would mean a mis-rating happened about once in every fourteen cases. Give or take a few cases, mis-ratings certainly did not substantially effect the large number of misidentifications among the medium skin children.

Finally, another possibility why so many medium skin children misidentified their actual skin color, could be the result of the fact that the terms, "black" and "white", receive so much attention in the context of race relations that individuals, particularly young children who are neither in the American sense of the terms, may have a tendency to think of themselves as being associated with one or the other (i e, black or white). Moreover, non-dark skin and non-light skin individuals according to my experiences, seldom see themselves as such, but rather as being light or dark skin (often, dark skin individuals tend to see all other non-dark skin people as light skin, and with light skin people frequently the situation is reversed). Thus, it might have been that some of the medium skinned children simply had a difficult time perceiving their actual skin color. For example, some children may have associated tan or light brown as depicting dark skin, and, thus, selected a lighter color to identify themselves, which in fact did not depict their actual skin color. On the other hand, some medium skin children may have selected a light or dark color because they perceived their actual skin color accordingly.

In summary, it was found that a third (33 %) of the American children studied misidentified their actual skin color. In general misidentifications decreased with the increase in age. Among light skinned children, there was a decrease in misidentifications with the increase in age. Misidentifications among dark skinned children increased with the increase in age. Medium skinned children averaged 79 % misidenti-

fications at each age level.

The misidentifications among the American children were attributed to one or more factors. They were: the use of color names which are inaccurate; children being favorably or unfavorably disposed towards skin color(s) other than their own; "experimenter bias", evaluation apprehension", and "demand characteristics"; and unintentional errors in responding to test items.

Now let us turn to the results of the children's indications of their skin color preferences.

5.2 Skin Color Preference

European Group Among the European group, in each age group there were indications of greater preference for dark skin color than actual skin color. Put another way, the result just mentioned, implies that among the European group studied, regardless of age and actual skin color, there was as good, or better chance that children would indicate a preference for a skin color unlike their actual skin color as they would for their own. (See table 4.9).

Table 5.9 shows a tabulation of the group's ratio of percentage of actual light, medium and dark skin children, in relation to skin color preferred, in relation to skin color not preferred. (See also table 4.9) Table 5.2 gives the corresponding product moment correlations (As is shown earlier, the congruence between the various types of correlations calculated is very high).

Table 5.1: Relative distributions of actual, preferred, and not preferred skin color[1]

	European group		
	% Actual Color	% Pref. Color	% Not Pref. Color
Light	79.4	57.3	23.5
Medium	19.3	15.8	9.9
Dark	1.3	26.9	66.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0

[1]Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color are given in Appendix A and between actual skin color and non-preferred skin color in Appendix B. Crosstabulations of preferred against non-preferred skin color are given in Appendix C.

Table 5.2: Correlations between actual, preferred and not preferred skin color

European group

		r	p
Actual and Preferred skin color:	boy	.07	ns
	girl	.02	ns
Actual and Not preferred skin color:	boy	.03	ns
	girl	.03	ns
Preferred and Not preferred skin color:	boy	-.65	0.001
	girl	-.71	0.001

The correlations between preferred and not preferred skin color provides some evidence of the reliability of the children's indication of skin color preferences. There is a moderately high negative association between the two, and the figures are about the same either the stimulus is a boy or a girl. In simple terms, the children were consistent; that is, they selected different colors when indicating preferences and non-preferences. With respect to the remarks made above concerning the "good chance" that these children were as likely to prefer a skin color unlike their own, as they would their own, we can observe there is no association between both actual and preferred skin color, and actual, and not preferred skin color. Consequently, as a group the responses of the European sample appear stable with respect to skin color preference.

Looking at the results broken down according to skin color groups in relation to the frequency of indications of preference for one's actual skin color we find that, among light skin children, preference for light skin sharply increases after 8-9 years of age, and among medium skin children preference for medium skin sharply decreases after 7 years of age. Since there were no dark skin children in the European group 10-12 years old, increase or decrease with age can not be shown (see table 4.9). [1]

[1] For details see Appendix A.

Regarding the sharp increase in preference for light skin among the light skin children, it can only be said that for any number of reasons the children in this group demonstrate a preference for skin color like their own. The most plausible, in my opinion, is the simple fact that these children like many other children find it psychologically, emotionally and socially satisfying to prefer, and presumably interact with people pigmented like they are (see, Landreth and Johnson, 1953).

The decrease in preference for medium skin color demonstrated among the medium skin children with the increase in age could be the result of the fact that there were only foreign children in this group, most of whom were Turkish and Arabic children who may have been manifesting "wishful-thinking". In the context of Swedish society these children are thought of as being "dark skin", more so than medium skin, as they were rated for purposes of this investigation. It could be that these children were expressing a desire to be thought of, or possibly associated with what was called light skinned individuals in this study. In other words, these children may have been identifying with the average Swede, who is in fact light skin by any standard. On the other hand, it may have been that some of these children find dark skin appealing, and thus indicated a preference for it. Another probability, however, somewhat far afield, could be, the medium skinned foreign children by demonstrating a greater frequency of preference for skin color unlike their own were manifesting self and ingroup dislike or possibly hatred because their color acts as a factor which militates against social success. I have serious doubt that the latter notion is applicable in the case of these children in Sweden. I base this claim on the fact that overt discrimination based on skin pigmentation in Sweden is a very rare occurance.

In brief I have not been able to obtain any evidence of serious and widespread discrimination on the basis of skin color in Sweden which might motivate "color-minorities" in Sweden to develop feelings of self and ingroup hatred, like or similar to conditions among American Negroes (see, Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951). Unfortunately, our data do not tell us in which direction the medium skinned children indicated their preferences, consequently, any one of the explanations offered above may be applicable, save the one conserning self, and ingroup hatred, which in my opinion is quite remote.

Indeed, the results of the European group's skin color preferences require some further examination regarding what may have motivated the responses. To do this we will discuss the use of color names, Swedish society, wishful thinking and the procedures used, because it is my opinion that these factors may have played significant roles in motivating the children's responses.

We can dispell the notion that the use of color names played any role in an assertive manner. That is, the children were probably not influenced by color names which are used to identify groups, but rather, they were probably not "handicapped" by them, thus the significance of color names was their absence as an influential factor, as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter.

What does, however, appear to be a more defensible explanation for the skin color preferences registered by the European subjects is an observation alluded to earlier. That is, fundamental differences between Swedish and American societies regarding the meaning and implications of skin color per se. It was noted earlier that in Sweden, skin color is of little significance compared to the culture which may be indigenous to a given group, and that in Swedish society people in the main are identified by the latter. Moreover, another reason why people in Sweden attribute little significance to skin pigmentation, is because most people in Sweden possess similar skin pigmentation,(i e, light skin).

On the question of wishful thinking, "the-other-side-of-the-fence-phenomena" probably played a large role in motivating the children's responses, particularly in instances when the skin color preference registered was one other than the respondants actual skin color. "The-other-side-of-the-fence-phenomena", roughly put means that there is a presumption that some thing,condition, person, or group of persons, with which one has had no contact or experience which may embrace and or provide some positive experience or phenomena. In Sweden, because of the very small number of people possessing non-light skin, opportunity for relating to and interacting with such people for the light skin members of Swedish society is very limited. Thus, one can reasonably expect a certain amount of "natural curiousity" to prevail concerning people of "color". In fact when I was in the process of gathering data for an earlier investigation I found that curiousity among light skinned individuals in Sweden concerning people of "color" provided a rather unique instance of mobility for many people of "color" (Hughes,

1972). For example, I found that some people of "color" enjoyed almost "complete" vertical, and horizontal social mobility because of the intense curiousity about them manifested by individuals at almost all levels of the social strata in Sweden. With the latter being the case among adults, it is a fair assumption that children would be just as, if not more curious. It might then be that the general preference demonstrated for dark skin, was in effect a manifestation of curiosity.

Of course, there are some who might offer such explanations as dark skin may have been equated with possessing the "ultimate" in sun tans i e, healthy looking. This may have been the reason why some children preferred dark skin; however, in my opinion if the latter played any role at all, it was minor and motivated very few children. The major reason is because there is little evidence that young children associate sun tanning with good health or "attractiveness" per se, but rather that they probably do associate sun tanning with simply obtaining a darker skin color on a temporary basis.

Finally, on the question of wishful thinking it can be said that, in all probability, it played a significant role in influencing the children's skin color preferences, however, we can not say with certainty, exactly with which children, how many, and why. Thus we are limited to only speculating how they may have been influenced.

With regard to the procedures, I did not directly observe or supervise the administration of the tests to the European group, however, the verbal reports made by the headmasters at the respective schools in question did not give any indication of events having occurred which deviated from the procedures the testers were instructed to use. Therefore, if any "experimenter bias" occurred it can not be reported here as a result of lack of such information.

The procedure on its face certainly could have for some children promted a large amount of "evaluation apprehension", for others lesser degrees. For example, the first 6 items in the Coloring Test required the children to respond to factors which had "right" and "wrong" answers. Regardless of the matter-of-fact approach the testers were supposed to use, for some children (perhaps even for all of them) the Coloring Test probably produced some anxiety and stress. Of course anxiety and stress under test conditions induces some children to cheat, in fear of failure, some to draw mental blanks, and others to

respond erratically, and still others to perform with excellence. Indeed, some children may have cheated in fear of failure. None appeared to have responded erratically, and most appeared to have performed with excellence as evidenced by the responses on skin color identification. Thus whatever "evaluation apprehension" the children experienced, it probably worked to their "advantage".

The "demand characteristics" of the administration of the tests were implicit in the test items. That is the children were required to respond in specific ways and on the basis of their individual thoughts and feelings. Given the very high probability that all of the children had experienced similar situations in the school setting the "demand characteristics" in the testing situation likely did not effect the nature of their responses in any manner.

Summing up the European group's skin color preferences it was found that in all age groups dark skin color was preferred more than children preferred their actual skin color. Light skin children demonstrated a greater preference for light skin color as they increased in age. Medium skinned children's preference for medium skin color decreased with the increase in age.

The European children's skin color preferences were attributed to several factors: the favorable state of intergroup relations, and person perception in Swedish society; "wishful thinking" on the part of some children; and inadvertant influence induced by the testing procedures, and the test itself.

American Group The results of skin color preferences among the Americans indicated that, in relation to actual skin color, there was in general, a preference for dark skin color. This finding is not as apparent among the American group, as it is among the European group. Therefore, let us take another look at the figures for the American children. With respect to the reader, I will indicate the numerical difference in the ratio between actual skin color and actual skin color preferred in parenthesis between the latter two figures.

Table 5.3: Differences in actual and preferred skin color for different age groups:

American sample

	7 years		8-9 years		10-12 years		7-12 years	
	Actual	Pref.	Actual	Pref.	Actual	Pref.	Actual	Pref
	N = 61		N = 93		N=105		N=259	
Light	36 (-21)	15	52 (-10)	42	67 (-1)	66	155 (-32)	123
Medium	19 (- 6)	13	29 (- 3)	26	21 (+4)	25	69 (- 5)	64
Dark	6 (+27)	33	12 (+13)	25	17 (-3)	14	35 (+37)	72
	61	61	93	93	105	105	259	259

With the exception of the dark skin 10-12 years old who show a -3 and the medium skin 10-12 years old who show a +4 difference between actual skin color and actual skin color preferred, we can observe that the remaining light and medium skin children show minus differences between actual skin color and actual skin color preferred (total -42). Additionally, observe the differences for the dark skin 7,8 and 9 years old; at 7 years, +27, and at 8-9 years, +13 (total +40). In making the two latter observations, we can see that the, -42 difference among the light and medium skin children accounted for by the, +40, and -2 difference among the dark skin children. It can not be shown here conclusively, that light, and medium skin children only preferred dark skin when they did not prefer their actual skin color, because some light skin children may have preferred medium, and vice versa. Nevertheless, it is evident that some light, and/or medium skin children did in fact prefer dark skin. In fact, the cross-tabulations given in Appendix A show that the preferences varied over all skin colors for children of all skin colors.

This finding which has just been delineated, is, indeed, striking because it is markedly contrary to earlier findings on this topic. Earlier research findings have demonstrated that in general among children 3-7 years old in America, there was a greater preference for light skin color among light, medium, and dark skin children than there was for medium and dark skin color. Here, we find a general preference demonstrated for dark skin color, particularly among the dark skin children.

What might account for the results here which represent an apparent departure from earlier findings among American children with respect to skin color preference?

I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, when discussing skin color identification that, one of the most profound changes in American social conditions has been the impact of so-called "non-white" minority groups' fervent efforts to instill pride in self and group among their respective members. An integral component in these efforts has been the focus upon destroying the notion that there is something wrong, or negative about being non-light skinned, or in traditional American terminology - "non-white skinned". Some people may believe that the rhetoric and doctrine of positivism about "non-white" (non-light) skin color espoused by vocal militant "non-white" minority individuals was, and is, only addressed to "non-white" people in America. This is erroneous. These militants were and are addressing the "white majority" as much as they were and are addressing their respective groups.

The findings here regarding skin color preference may be a small indication that some of the message(s) contained in the rhetoric and doctrine alluded to above is being received and probably internalized by both "non-white" and "white" children in America. That is, the responses of the children studied reflect a substantially greater frequency of preferences for "non-white" (non-light) skin color than has been demonstrated in results of earlier research. Thus it can be inferred that the rhetoric and doctrine of positivism about "non-white" skin color probably has played a significant role in motivating the skin color preferences of the children observed here.

It is interesting to note, that with the increase in age, there is a gradual decrease in preference for dark skin color, and a corresponding increase in preference for light and medium skin color. According to actual skin color in relation to actual skin color preferred: medium skin children at 7 years show a -7, and at 10-12 years, +4; the dark skin children at 7 years show a, +27, and at 12 years, -2; and the light skin children at 7 years show a, -21, and at 10-12 years, -2. Theoretically, the implication of these figures could be, with the increase in age, dark and light skin children tend to prefer medium skin color more than their respective actual skin color, and medium skin children, tend to prefer their own skin color more than they do light, and dark skin color.[1]

[1]For details see Appendix A, B and C.

In practical terms the increase in preference for one's actual skin color could imply, that as children increase in age the effect of positivism with respect to skin color may motivate children to think more in terms of their own color and/or "color-group" thus demonstrate a preference for the same, more than they may have at a younger age.

The indications of skin color not preferred by the American children on their face show a greater frequency of indications of dark skin color as not preferred. What this means is that these figures cross reference the skin color preferred figures (see table 4.10). Note that the percentage for preferred are about the inverse of the percentage for not preferred. Simply put, since numerically there were less children preferring dark skin, "logically" there had to be more children not preferring dark skin. However the ratio between actual skin color, and skin color preferred demonstrates that, in fact dark skin was preferred generally more than was the respective children's actual skin color, (compare, tables 4.9 and 4.10).

In summary, the American light and medium skin children demonstrated a greater preference for dark skin color than they did for their respective actual skin color. There was a gradual increase in preference for one's own skin color with the increase in age.

The skin color preferences among these children represents a reversal of a trend found in earlier research on this topic. That is, the children studied here indicate a greater preference for non-light skin color with greater frequency than have subjects of previous investigations. The reversal in the trend found in earlier work is attributed to the rhetoric and doctrine vocalized in America with respect to developing positive thoughts and feelings concerning the possession of "non-white" skin color.

5.3 Spontaneous Remarks Made By The Children

European and American Group The European children did not make any comments during the administration of the tests which are applicable here. The only significance which I can attribute to the absence of comments referring to skin color among the European group is that skin color plays a very small or insignificant role in their lives in terms of perception of self and others. However, given the fact that the test was something new and had what in my opinion was an excitable air about it, it is suprising that no comments were made regarding skin

color. On the other hand, since spontaneous verbal activity (unless instructed to do so) is not characteristic of the average classroom setting in European primary schools, particularly Swedish primary schools, the lack of comments can be understood. There is little more that can be attributed to why the European group did not make remarks during the testing.

The recordings of the testing sessions in America does provide some evidence that some American children presently resent being identified as "black". The latter was examplified by three occasions when children were called, or identified as black, and when there were responses indicating (presumably the individuals addressed as black) "I'm not black", "You're blacker than me", and "Don't call me black". The phrase "black nigger" was heard several times. This phrase, as it was used, was assumed by me to be in its negative form (I might note here that the phrase "black nigger" does have a neutral and positive connotation among American Negroes). Given my knowledge of American Negro dialects, I suspected all the comments made with reference to "black", were made by Negro children. There were some references to the color names, "white", "yellow", and "red", however, not in specific reference to a person. These references were probably made about children's drawings according to my interpretation of the comments on the tape.

Given our discussion on probable changes in perception of self and others concerning skin color, it does appear that negative uses of group identifying color names is inconsistent, particularly among "non-white" children. This is not necessarily so. It could be that even children who have been exposed to positive rhetoric about their group's color, may not have internalized it, and thus continue to use their group's color name in a negative sense. Other children exposed to such rhetoric may simply have rejected it, or possibly not understood the import.

Although the quality of the recordings was good, it was difficult to discern the flow of words because in most cases the children spoke in fragmented sentences, were interupted by other children, and frequently cut-off by laughter, or the testers attempting to regain attention in order to continue with the instructions.

5.4 Conclusion

1) The European sample regardless of age, sex, and actual skin color differences demonstrated a perfect correspondence between their actual and perceived skin color.

2) Among the American sample,regardless of differences in actual skin color, the children did not accurately identify their actual skin color, or were likely to misidentify their actual skin color.

3) With an increase in age among the American sample, there was a decrease in the frequency of misidentifications, with the most radical change occuring between 7 and 8-9 years of age.

4) In both the European and American groups, in relation to the children's actual skin color, there was a greater preference for dark skin color.

5) As the American children increased in age, there was an increase in preference for skin color like that actually possessed by the respective children.

6) Among the European sample there was almost a 50 % "chance" that the children would indicate a skin color other than their actual skin color as their skin color preference.

7) The children in the European sample appeared to rely on their actual skin color as their principal and only referent to identify their actual skin color.

8) The European children appeared to use colors which people are actually pigmented as the basis for indicating their skin color preferences.

9) The children in the American group frequently used color names associated with, or used to identify ethnic and racial groups to identify their actual skin color, and to indicate their skin color preferences.

10) The differences in results between the American and European groups are attributed to: Americans being more concious of, and concerned about differences in the skin color possessed by individuals and groups; Americans having institutionalized the use of color names

(which are frequently inaccurate) to identify one another; Europeans being less concious of, and concerned about skin color than Americans; Europeans using the actual skin color possessed by others, rather than color names as their basis for indicating their skin color preferences; and experimental bias inadvertantly induced by the procedures used.

The conclusions just setforth are derived from analysis of the data gathered and reported here. Indeed, the extent to which the conclusions are generalizable depends upon the degree other situations are similar to those studied here.

I will now make some additional observations with respect to what in my opinion are critical differences between Swedish and American societies in relation to the results and the conclusions derived therefrom.

Each culture has its basic goals of socialization or basic pattern for personality formation - in effect a picture of the ideal adult. These goals emerge from what the society values as behaviors, characteristics and capacities. For example, if we can trust the description of American society mentioned earlier in this discussion, then it values close identification and attachment to one's own group primarily, if not largely on the basis of certain physical characteristics believed to be commonly shared by the group (chiefly skin pigmentation). Learned personal attributes appear to be of secondary significance, if at all. Of course, these emotional valuations acquired in the process of learning a personality create at once stability and unity within various cultural segments in society and a problem of ethnocentricity and racism in intercultural relations. The latter has, indeed, been well documented in the massive amount of literature on intergroup relations in America (see for example, Myrdal, 1944; Blalock, 1967; DuBois, 1903; Franklin, 1952; Frazier, 1957a; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Merton, 1949; Williams, 1964; Wirth, 1945; and Grier and Cobbs, 1969).

On the other hand, my description of socialization in European societies observes that people in Europe in general and Sweden in particular like Americans place much value on close identification and attachment to one's own cultural group. However, unlike Americans, Europeans generally do not attribute a great deal of significance to possession of certain skin pigmentation. This may be the result of reference to an individual's ethnic or national group membership presumes certain physical characteristics, and possession of certain

skin pigmentation. Nevertheless, physical characteristics, particularly skin color, is not as important to the European as it is to the American. Some evidence of the latter was implied in the findings here. For example, the European children were apparently quite objective about their actual skin pigmentation when they were asked to identify it. The European children also demonstrated they are apt to prefer others who may possess skin pigmentation which is different from their own.

Conversely, when the American children were asked to identify themselves it was evident that most of the children were trying to identify their skin pigmentation with a color name which they probably learned to think of as being synonomous with their actual skin pigmentation, rather than identify their skin color as it actually is.

When the American children were asked to indicate their skin color preferences, most of the children employed the same procedure as just described. That is, the children "really" indicated their preference for colors which "symbolizes" racial groups in America, e g, black for Negroes, white for Caucasians etc.

There are both subtle and profound implications implicit in the differences observed between the American and European children.

First, it can be inferred that the European children were likely socialized to be more objective about themselves than were the American children. Therefore the European children probably view others with a higher degree of objectivity than the American children would prefer to associate with others according to what they think about others based largely on personal attributes, rather than what someone has tried to influence them to believe because another individual possesses certain skin pigmentation.

It is well established that objectively-based perception of others leads to rational and orderly inter-personal and inter-group activity more than does subjectively-based perception of others. The differences between inter-personal and inter-group relations in Sweden and America offers some support for the inference just postulated. Inter-personal and inter-group relations in America are characterized by tension, confrontation, compromise and non-violence. Could it be that the tendency demonstrated among the young American children studied to hold subjectively-based perceptions about their actual skin pigmentation,

and to prefer others who possess the same or similar skin pigmentation be a part of the genesis of intolerance based on racial group membership? Conversely, might it be that the objectively-based perception of self (skin pigmentation) and the implied objectively-based preference for others demonstrated among the European children be a part of the genesis of not learning to be intolerant of others because of racial group membership? Most scholars in the area of inter-group relations would reply to both questions in the affirmative. Consequently, the findings here may, indeed, contribute to the efforts of those concerned with reduction of inter-group tension and conflict.

Finally, the mode in which the children in the respective samples registered their responses suggests other differences between American and Swedish society and what can be termed as social character.[1] That is, the American children appeared to be products of what Reisman (1950) calls "other-direction", while the European children appeared to be products of what he calls, "inner-direction".

In the inner-directed society the problem of multiplicity of personal choices is solved by a behavioral obedience to a code and by channeling choices through a rigid though highly individualized character. The direction and nature of this character are implanted early in life by elders and directed toward general goals such as industriousness, courage, and being a gentleperson. These directions remain relatively unaltered throughout the individual's life.

This mechanism acts like a psychological gyroscope. Once it is set by the parents and other socializing agents, it keeps the inner-directed person "on the course". The inner-directed person becomes capable of maintaining a delicate balance between the demands put upon him by his life goals and the buffetings of his external environment. He can receive and utilize certain signals from outside, provided they can be reconciled with the limited manoeuverability that his gyroscope permits him.

Reisman (1950) and Fromm (1947), pp 67-82, (1955), ch 5, observes, "What is common to all other-directed people is that their contemporaries are

[1] By social character are meant those characteristics which are shared by members of a culture; individual character is defined by characteristics in which individuals who belong to the same culture differ from each other (Taba, 1962, p 57).

the source of direction for the individual-either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted through friends and through mass media". This source is internalized and becomes the source of guidance and direction. "It is only the process of striving itself, and the process of paying close attention to the signals from others that remain unaltered through their life. The goals themselves shift as the associations shift. The conformity comes not from being drilled in behavior itself, but from an exceptional sensitivity to the actions and wishes of others. Individuals in such a society are more capable of and interested in maintaining responsive contracts with others both at work and at play. While the inner-directed person with a good reputation conformed in his dress, behavior etc, to the "best" people in his milieu, the other-directed person has his eye very much on the "Joneses", aims to keep up with them not so much in external detail as in what experiences to seek and how to interpret them. While the inner-directed person in the tradition-directed society takes his signals from others, they come in cultural monotone. This type of person is somewhat parochial. The other-directed person is cosmopolitan: the sources are many and changes are rapid". While the inner-directed person can go it alone, the other-directed person often can not.

This thesis of Reisman is perhaps more attractive than valid. It contains, however, many eye-opening suggestions regarding the consequences stemming from differences between the socialization process in America and Sweden which probably influenced the perceptions of the children studied.

Yet, other-directedness need not necessarily be only of negative value as values lie not in the source from which they are received but in the nature of what is transmitted.

One might add also that other-directedness is limiting to the extent that it represents a reading of signals without judgment and selection. No matter how broad the source of signals, or how cosmopolitan the nature of what they communicate, an individual who changes his "color" according to the constellation of the signal-makers around him is still an individual adrift and without a center of values or integrity. For this reason the relevant question to ask about these characteristics is not just where the signals come from, but the extent to which their reading is consistent with fundamental human values and democratic ideology.

As I stated in the preface, the purpose underlying this book was to describe analyze and understand how the groups of young children studied in Sweden and America perceived their actual skin color and their skin color preferences, I believe this purpose has been achieved. The extent to which the import of this book contributes further knowledge to our understanding of how and why young children perceive their actual skin color the way they do, and how and what skin color they tend to prefer and not prefer remains to be seen. That is to say, this is not a book of "rules", or of "indoctrination" to a certain line of reasoning per se. I do propose, however, that this book provides some further light on some aspects of both tolerance and intolerance based on the skin color individuals may possess. In doing the latter, more light may also be shown on one of the most vexing problems facing man and his relations with one another - race prejudice!

This book has raised more questions in my mind than it has answered. For example. What are the skin color preferences of older and younger European children than those studied here? What are the skin color preferences of older American children? What might be the skin color preferences among all Negroid African children? What might be the skin color preferences of children in Iceland, where all the inhabitants are Caucasian? Is preference for one's own skin color necessarily always an indicator of a positive, or healthy concept of self, and group? On the contrary, is preference for skin color(s) other than one's own necessarily always an indicator of a negative concept of self and group? Without doubt there are numerous other questions which could be asked on the topic of skin color identification and preference. Consequently, there is much room for further exploration on the topic discussed in this book.

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APPENDIX A - C

APPENDIX A: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred color.

Table 1: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color: European sample 7 years old.

Actual color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	28	13	13	54	22	17	15	54
Medium	6	1	1	8	6	1	1	8
Total	34	14	14	62	28	18	16	62

Chi square = 1.508; df = 2; ns
Contingency coeff. = 0.154
Gamma = - 0.420
r = - 0.14; ns

Chi square = 3,306; df = 2; ns
Contingency coeff. = 0.225
Gamma = - 0.545
r = - 0.20; ns

Table 2: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color: European sample 8-9 years old.

Actual color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	28	6	20	54	29	4	21	54
Medium	4	4	3	11	3	4	4	11
Total	32	10	23	65	32	8	25	65

Chi square = 4.479; df = 2; ns
Contingency coeff. = 0.254
Gamma = 0.075
r = 0.02; ns

Chi square=7.538; df = 2; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.322
Gamma = 0.219
r = 0.10; ns

Table 3: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color; European sample 10-12 years old.

Actual color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	48	10	15	73	43	9	21	73
Medium	21	2	2	25	23	1	1	25
Dark	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3
Total	69	12	20	101	66	10	25	101

Chi square = 15.419; df=4; p<0.01
Contingency coeff.= 0.364
Gamma= - 0.099
r = 0.04; ns

Chi square=18.440;df=4; p<0.01
Contingency coeff.=0.393
Gamma = - 0.375
r = - 0.07; ns

Table 4: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color; American sample 7 years old.

Actual color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	15	5	16	36	8	7	21	36
Medium	4	6	9	19	3	9	7	19
Dark	0	0	6	6	0	0	6	6
Total	19	11	31	61	11	16	34	61

Chi square=10.316; df=4; p<0.05
Contingency coeff.= 0.380
Gamma = 0.429
r = 0.30; p<0.01

Chi square=10.297;df=4; p<0.05
Contingency coeff.= 0.380
Gamma = 0.108
r = 0.13; ns

Table 5: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color; American sample 8-9 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	36	8	8	52	32	9	11	52
Medium	7	14	8	29	6	13	10	29
Dark	2	5	5	12	1	3	8	12
Total	45	27	21	93	39	25	29	93

Chi square=21.834;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.436
Gamma=0.572
$r = 0.39$; $p<0.001$

Chi square=23.005;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.445
Gamma=0.587
$r = 0.42$; $p<0.001$

Table 6: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against preferred skin color; American sample 10-12 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Preferred color				Preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	55	10	2	67	52	9	6	67
Medium	8	6	7	21	9	7	5	21
Dark	4	8	5	17	3	9	5	17
Total	67	24	14	105	64	25	16	105

Chi square=31.485;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.480
Gamma=0.715
$r = 0.50$; $p < 0.001$

Chi square=24.288;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.433
Gamma=0.636
$r = 0.42$; $p < 0.001$

APPENDIX B: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred color.

Table 7: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 7 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	12	7	35	54	10	5	39	54
Medium	1	0	7	8	3	0	5	8
Total	13	7	42	62	13	5	44	62

Chi square = 1.880; df=2; ns
Contingency coeff.=0.172
Gamma=0.52
r=0.12; ns

Chi square=2.031; df=2; ns
Contingency coeff.=0.178
Gamma=-0.275
r=-0.12; ns

Table 8: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 8-9 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	18	5	31	54	19	5	30	54
Medium	5	1	5	11	5	1	5	11
Total	23	6	36	65	24	6	35	65

Chi square=0.615; df=2; ns
Contingency coeff.=0.097
Gamma=-0.227
r=-0.10; ns

Chi square=0.434; df=2; ns
Contingency coeff=0.081
Gamma=-0.192
r=-0.08; ns

Table 9: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 10-12 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	13	6	54	73	18	8	47	73
Medium	1	1	23	25	0	2	23	25
Dark	1	2	0	3	1	2	0	3
Total	15	9	77	101	19	12	70	101

Chi square=18.199; df=4; $p < 0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.391
Gamma=0.152
r=0.02; ns

Chi square=18.505; df=4; $p < 0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.394
Gamma=0.362
r=0.12; ns

Table 10: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 7 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	5	13	18	36	7	11	18	36
Medium	3	6	10	19	3	5	11	19
Dark	4	1	1	6	3	1	2	6
Total	12	20	29	61	13	17	31	61

Chi square=9.451; df=4; ns
Contingency coeff.=0.366
Gamma=-0.260
r=-0.24; ns

Chi square=3.581; df=4; ns
Contingency coeff=0.235
Gamma=-0.072
r=-0.09; ns

Table 11: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 8-9 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	4	8	40	52	5	13	39	52
Medium	8	4	17	29	9	5	15	29
Dark	2	4	6	12	4	5	3	12
Total	14	16	63	93	18	23	52	93

Chi square=8.590;df=4;ns
Contingency coeff.=0.291
Gamma=-0.377
r=-0.22; $p < 0.02$

Chi square=10.831;df=4;$p < 0.05$
Contingency coeff.=0.323
Gamma=-0.412
r=-0.29; $p < 0.002$

Table 12: Crosstabulations of actual skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 10-12 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Actual color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	9	11	47	67	12	10	45	67
Medium	7	8	6	21	7	7	7	21
Dark	7	2	8	17	7	2	8	17
Total	23	21	61	105	26	19	60	105

Chi square=15.957;df=4;$p < 0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.363
Gamma=-0.468
r=-0.29; $p < 0.001$

Chi square=10.750;df=4;$p < 0.05$
Contingency coeff.=0.305
Gamma=-0.391
r=-0.23; $p < 0.01$

APPENDIX C: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color.

Table 13: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 7 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Pref. color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	0	3	31	34	2	1	25	28
Medium	4	1	9	14	3	2	13	18
Dark	9	3	2	14	8	2	6	16
Total	13	7	42	62	13	5	44	62

Chi square=30.402;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff=0.574
Gamma=-0.851
r=-0.690; $p<0.001$

Chi square=14.294;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.433
Gamma=-0.681
r=-0.457; $p<0.001$

Table 14: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 8-9 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Pref. color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	0	4	28	32	2	2	28	32
Medium	3	1	6	10	2	1	5	8
Dark	20	1	2	23	20	3	2	25
Total	23	6	36	65	24	6	35	65

Chi square=44.714;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.638
Gamma=-0.912
r=-0.803; $p<0.001$

Chi square=38.235;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.609
Gamma=-0.899
r=-0.755; $p<0.001$

Table 15: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: European sample 10-12 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Pref. color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	2	3	64	69	2	3	61	66
Medium	2	2	8	12	4	1	5	10
Dark	11	4	5	20	13	8	4	25
Total	15	9	77	101	19	12	70	101

Chi square=43.053;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.547
Gamma=-0.860
r=-0.639; $p<0.001$

Chi square=53,175;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.587
Gamma=-0.877
r=-0.690; $p<0.001$

Table 16: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 7 years old.

	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
Pref. color	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	5	2	12	19	4	1	6	11
Medium	2	1	8	11	1	1	14	16
Dark	5	17	9	31	8	15	11	34
Total	12	20	29	61	13	17	31	61

Chi square=14.666;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.440
Gamma=-0.294
r=-0.153; ns

Chi square:16.795;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.463
Gamma=-0.368
r=-0.154; ns

Table 17: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 8-9 years old.

Pref. color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	3	5	37	45	2	8	29	39
Medium	4	1	22	27	4	1	20	25
Dark	7	10	4	21	12	14	3	29
Total	14	16	63	93	18	23	52	93

Chi square=31.384;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.502
Gamma=-0.612
r=-0.440; $p<0.001$

Chi square=38.354;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.540
Gamma=-0.650
r=-0.521; $p<0.001$

Table 18: Crosstabulations of preferred skin color against non-preferred skin color: American sample 10-12 years old.

Pref. color	Girl drawing				Boy drawing			
	Non-preferred color				Non-preferred color			
	Light	Medium	Dark	Total	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	1	14	52	67	1	14	49	64
Medium	14	1	9	24	13	1	11	25
Dark	8	6	0	14	12	4	0	16
Total	23	21	61	105	26	19	60	105

Chi square=56.191;df=4; $p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.590
Gamma=-0.792
r=-0.645; $p<0.001$

Chi square=55.503;df=4;$p<0.01$
Contingency coeff.=0.588
Gamma=-0.801
r=-0.674; $p<0.001$

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